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JOURNAL

OF A

VOYAGE UP THE MEDITERRANEAN;

PRINCIPALLY AMONG THE

ISLANDS OF THE ARCHIPELAGO,

AND IN

ASIA MINOR:

85780

INCLUDING MANY INTERESTING PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO

The Greek Revolution,

ESPECIALLY A JOURNEY THROUGH MAINA TO THE CAMP OF IBRAHIM PACHA,

TOGETHER WITH OBSERVATIONS ON

THE ANTIQUITIES, OPINIONS, AND USAGES OF GREECE, AS THEY NOW EXIST.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN ESSAY ON THE FANARIOTES,

translated from the French of

MARK PHILIP ZALLONY, A GREEK.

By the REV. CHARLES SWAN,

LATE OF CATHARINE HALL, CAMBRIDGE; CHAPLAIN TO H. M. S. CAMBRIAN;

AUTHOR OF SERMONS ON SEVERAL SUBJECTS, AND TRANSLATOR OF THE GESTA ROMANORUM.

"Whilk were fools, and whilk were wise,
And whilk of them could most quaintyse;
And whilk did wrong, and whilk right,
And whilk maintained peace and fight—
Of their deeds shall be my sawe,
In what time, and of what law."

Chronicle of Robert de Brunne.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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PRINTED BY R. GILBERT,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

A

JOURNAL,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER XI.

TUESDAY, *24th May.*—Weighed anchor by day-light. It is quite calm; the mountains of the Morea on one side, and those of the Island of Hydra on the other, with the lake-like appearance of the water, are extremely beautiful. Spetzia is seen through the narrow Strait of *Logo*, which we are about to pass; and the little town of Castri is on our right, at the bottom of the bay.

Tuesday Evening. — Arrived at Napoli, where we are likely to meet much trouble. The Greeks have taken an English merchantman, the Anne of London, which they represent as conveying a supply of corn to the Turks. They have also made prizes of seven

or eight Austrian merchantmen, which we hear they refuse to deliver up at the requisition of the Austrian commodore. Several Maltese vessels, laden with Turkish dresses and arms, are in the same predicament. With respect to the Englishman, nothing has been determined as yet. He says, his lading was intended for the use of the Ionian islands; and his papers confirm the statement. But it is a common trick to take in a cargo of certain articles under pretence of delivering them at Zante; and then use the occasion to enter a blockaded port. Thus the English flag is made a cloak for all sorts of improper traffic.

Prince Mavrocordato is at Napoli.

Wednesday, 25th May.—Landed this morning in Napoli, and proceeded immediately to the *police-office*, whither we were directed, in order to procure horses for a ride to Argos. We ascended a dilapidated staircase, and passed a most infirm balcony, into the presence of the superintendent of police, who received us with great civility; and immediately sent out to obtain what was desired. Amongst the number of Greeks assembled in the apartment, was a sort of silly fellow,—a *Buffo*, arrayed in a

French cocked hat, with the tail of a horse pendent from the top. He wore a red jacket, an ataghan and immense sabre. His sallies seemed to occasion much mirth in the by-standers, who collected in great numbers.

Some difficulty arising with respect to horses, the superintendent of police, whom my enquiries relative to the literary state of Napoli appeared to engage, invited me to look at the government printing-presses. This I was well pleased to do; and not the less when I observed the excellent condition and arrangement of the whole. It is, indeed, the only place where there is any thing like order. Two French presses were busily employed. From one they were taking off revised sheets of the official notice respecting the late victory; of which I annex a literal translation below.

"*Provisional Government of Greece.*

"The President of the Executive Govefnment makes Proclamation,—That the late brilliant exploits of the Greek navy, celebrated a few days ago, have rejoiced all hearts, and made them impatient to receive a true and circumstantial notice of the achievement.

"That this evening arrived the relation of the valiant admiral, Mr. Andrew Miaoulis, retarded until the present moment by contrary winds. By this communication we are informed, that on the evening of the 30th April, the first division of the Greek fleet, under the command of the brave Admiral A. Miaoulis, giving chase to the Egyptian fleet, after a splendid fight, doubled the Island of Sapientza, and encountered, under the walls of Modon, more than twenty of the enemy's ships. Of these, two were frigates, three corvettes, and the rest brigs; amongst which were some transports. That immediately the fire-ships of our fleet (six in number) fell upon them, and succeeded in burning the whole. That the fire of the burning ships communicated with the fortress of Modon, and with the stores of the war magazine: so that it overturned a great part of the walls; and the buildings of the fortress continued burning more than five hours. The admiral was afterwards informed, that one of the frigates was a low-built ship of Mechmet Ali, of fifty-four guns. And he promises, with the second despatch, to forward a more correct account of the damage which

the enemy has suffered, which is supposed to be very great; inasmuch as the magazine of provisions and ammunition, deposited near the sea-side of Modon, was destroyed.

"That Divine Providence, which protects Greece, shines upon the struggles of our navy in this circumstance: when the eye-brows of the Egyptian should be humbled,—the soldiery be animated and eager to stand forward in the contest, and obtain by land those trophies of victory which may defend this country, avenge the blood of our brethren fallen in preceding actions, and drive the enemy from the territory of Peloponnesus, and the rest of Greece.

"Let every Grecian lift up his hands in gratitude to the Lofty One; let him pray Divine Providence to strengthen our arms in the confirmation of our blameless faith—of our inestimable liberty and independence.

(Signed) "George Condouriotti, *President.*

"A. Mavrocordato, *Chief Secretary.*

"In Nauplia, 10th May, 1825."

They were also printing a work on ethics, "*δια την ορθην διοίκησιν*," not yet finished. I put down my name for two copies; and

whatever may be the merit of the performance, it will be curious, as one of the first books issuing from a Greek press at Napoli. The characters are beautiful; and the work is struck off in a very superior manner.

On returning to the police-office, we were annoyed to find, that only one horse was to be had, in consequence of our not making earlier application. For they pasture their horses at some distance from the town, fearful of having them seized for the use of the army. Accommodating ourselves to circumstances, a midshipman of the ship (Mr. Holsted) and I set out with the single steed, accompanied by a Candiote soldier, provided for us by the commandant; and an order to the police at Argos to shew us every attention. A self-elected Dragoman followed on foot, and stuck to us pertinaciously the whole way. As we quitted the gate of the town, the Greek sentry *presented arms;* an advance in military tactics, which, as we were not prepared for it, occasioned some surprise. A little further our guard assailed a lad upon an ass, and caused him to dismount for the service of my companion. This mode of levying a supply, the

Greeks have learnt, I presume, from their late masters the Turks. In the present instance it was declined; but half a mile distant we were lucky enough to engage a second steed, which we had from the pasture, ready accoutred for action.

Argos is two hours' journey from Napoli; or about twelve miles. The road is infested with frogs, which croak incessantly, and as loud as crows; they also resemble them in their tone. We found Argos in a most miserable condition, and bearing evident marks of the devastation of revolutionary warfare. Hundreds of houses were overthrown; and the tottering walls alone betrayed the fact of their previous existence. The place was once very extensive, but the houses are erected solely of mud, with the exception of the Turkish *Besestein*, and perhaps a Turkish Mosch or two, which are of stone. It is, however, a ruin also. In fact, the moment we entered, I was particularly struck with the resemblance of this town to that of Pompeii; and thus the interest created by the sight of the inhabitants pursuing their several occupations, or suspending them to gaze upon the strangers, was very considerably

augmented. Their classical profiles, and novel costumes, lost nothing from the picture which the ruins about us presented. They seemed to be the last of the ancient Grecians; or the dead arisen from their graves to fan the spark of liberty, and to animate the despoñding heart!

We were conducted to the police-office,—a sort of hovel, surrounded by a mud wall. A dark passage and broken staircase conducted us into the only habitable apartment; the furniture of which was a large chest, a very thin mat, and a swallow's nest. The proprietor of the last, indeed, seemed to think herself grievously intruded upon; and, though familiarized to the appearance of their worships of the police, to apprehend herself the only legal occupier of the tenement. Many houses possess a like inhabitant: in truth, the superstition relative to swallows is exceedingly ancient and universal.

Adding here another attendant or two to our suite, for they persisted in escorting us, we advanced towards a ruined temple of antiquity, denominated by Dr. Clarke, "*an oracular shrine,*" and bearing indeed the most palpable characteristics of having been one. It is upon the side of the hill as you ascend to the Acro-

polis. The writer above mentioned styles it, with great justice, "one of the most curious *tell-tale* remains yet discovered among the vestiges of *Pagan* priestcraft." "It was nothing less," he adds, "than one of the *oracular* shrines of *Argos*, alluded to by Pausanias, laid open to inspection, like a toy a child has broken in order that he may see the contrivance whereby it was made to speak. A more interesting sight for modern curiosity can hardly be conceived to exist among the ruins of any Grecian city. In its original state, it had been a *temple;* the farther part from the entrance, where the altar was, being an excavation of the rock, and the front and roof constructed of *baked tiles.* The altar yet remains, and part of the *fictile* superstructure; but the most remarkable part of the whole, is a secret subterraneous passage terminating behind the altar; its entrance being at a considerable distance towards the right of a person facing the altar; and so cunningly contrived as to have a small aperture, easily concealed, and level with the surface of the rock. This was barely large enough to admit the entrance of a single person; who, having descended into

the narrow passage, might creep along until he arrived immediately behind the centre of the altar; where being hid by some colossal statue or other screen, the sound of his voice would produce a most imposing effect among the humble votaries prostrate beneath, who were listening in silence upon the floor of the sanctuary *." The subterraneous passage, alluded to by Dr. Clarke, is, in its present state, about twenty feet in length. Its breadth, at the opening, would barely admit a thin person; but it widens towards the altar. In all probability the passage was once much larger. There is now no "*fictile superstructure.*" Dr. Clarke's concluding observations upon this subject, are not unworthy of attention. "There were not fewer than twenty-five of these juggling places in *Peloponnesus*, and as many in the single province of Bœotia: and surely it will never again become a question among learned men, whether the answers in them were given by the inspiration of evil spirits, or whether they proceeded from the imposture of priests: neither can it again be urged, that they ceased

* Travels. Part II. Vol. vi. p. 480-1. Octavo.

at the birth of *Christ;* because *Pausanias* bears testimony to their existence at Argos in the *second century* *."

A short distance to the left of this oracle, are the remains of another temple, supposed to be that of Apollo. It appears to have had subterranean vaults, which are fallen in. Two sides, built of a red brick, in which are several niches, still exist. The monastery, which former travellers describe as standing partly upon the site of this temple, likewise participates in the fate of its predecessor. The ancient and modern fane,—the sanctuary of false gods, and of the only true and living God, are alike undistinguishable ruins! In the latter also are vaults, upon the walls of which certain travellers have scrawled their names. One of the Greeks, a native of Argos, who accompanied us, pointed these out as objects of infinite curiosity.

With some difficulty we rode up the precipitous and rocky hill on which the Acropolis stands;—a Venetian fortress, built upon the

* "Μαντένεταϛ γὰρ ἔτι καὶ ἐϛ ἡμᾶϛ. Vid. *Pausan.* in Corinth. c. xxiv. p. 165." Clarke's Travels. Part II. Vol. vi. p. 480.

ancient Cyclopean foundations. Several sculptured pieces of marble slabs make part of the wall of the inner fortification. Here it was that Demetrius Ipsilanti was besieged by the Turkish army; and from hence, at a moment when famine stared them in the face, he succeeded in making good the retreat of his two thousand soldiers. It is related, that during a truce, on the day preceding his escape, Ipsilanti, who had nothing edible remaining, save a little coffee and a quantity of sweetmeats, invited some of the principal persons in the Pacha's army to an entertainment; and by an artful display of the little he retained, persuaded his guests, that he had not only abundance of the necessaries, but even of the luxuries of life, within reach. This persuasion, it is said, operated so much upon the besieging army, as to cause a relaxation of that vigilance which an opposite belief had tended to arouse. For they no longer hoped to reduce by famine a place which appeared so copiously supplied with all sorts of provisions. The same night (calculating, I suppose, upon the result) Ipsilanti made a desperate sally, and effected his retreat.

A splendid view of the town and plain of Argos is presented from the Acropolis. The former, both in colour and magnitude, resembles the model of a city cut in cork; such as we see in the Studio at Naples of Pompeii or Herculaneum. The greater part of the plain is covered with waving corn; and orange-trees and gardens ornament the town. Descending the hill I had a distinct view of a number of oxen treading out the corn, in the manner alluded to in Scripture. I cannot forbear recording it; for every illustration of this nature, however trivial, is interesting and gratifying to the mind of most travellers. At the foot of the hill I had a momentary glimpse of the interior of a cottage of the same character as that given of the town above. It contained at least twenty souls, and they were, I understood, all the inmates of one family; men, women, and children crowded together, and sitting upon the floor. The high conical head-dresses of the women, enveloped in a white cotton handkerchief, fastening under the chin, had a happy and classical effect, especially as they were joined to faces of more than common beauty. My conductor wanted to drink, and one of

them brought to him a long antique-shaped flaggon of water, which she presented with a natural grace that would have done honour to a royal drawing-room! The streets of Argos, on our return, were alive with its population. One in particular, the *Pazari*, or market, was thronged to excess. The crowd however consisted of men and boys, with very few exceptions. We passed up the street for the purpose of finding out a Xenothokēon or inn; and the somewhat unusual spectacle of two Frank strangers, one in the uniform of the British navy, presently drew a host of the inquisitive around us. The place which we stopped at was, like all the rest, distinguished by a villainous compound of bad smells. They were frying fish in some indescribable medley of greasy fluids; having but a single room, whose floor, walls and roof were constructed of clay, and black with smoke. The heat and odour induced us to return to the office of police, where a mat was spread under orange-trees before the door, and a platter of eggs fried in oil or butter, in addition to a sort of curd, and two bottles of Argive wine, composed our repast. The wine was execrable, and we were not a little

astonished to perceive our worshipful dragoman whip his knife into the dish, and carve out rather an unreasonable portion of our dinner for his own tooth! Half a dozen Greeks, at least, were squatting around, beholding us with considerable merriment; and every now and then sniffing up the savoury incense which gladdened the surrounding atmosphere. On finishing this delectable omelet, and distributing the fragments with the liberal air of princes, we remounted our steeds, and proceeded back to Napoli. It was not till we had just cleared the town that we were able to discover in what quarter lay the Amphitheatre of Argos. My enquiries had been incessant, and but for a papas whom we met, and whom I accosted as a last resource, I should not have ascertained its situation. It was too late, however, to re-return, and I reserve it for the next opportunity, with the tomb of Agamemnon and the Cyclopean walls of Tirynthus.

They have an excellent coffee-house in Napoli, built upon the quay of the harbour. It is said to have been erected within two days after the town was taken. There is a billiard-table in the centre, and the Greeks are conti-

nually playing at it. This makes the house much frequented; and you meet here with people of all nations serving (spite of the poverty of the government) in the cause of the Greeks. Here are Italians and French and Americans clad in the costume of the country, but with whatever garnishings their nature will. It is a motley sight—and the *sounds* are not less diversified. It was here that a Piedmontese, employed as a French master on board the Cambrian, met with a countryman who called himself a *captain* in the Greek service. He wore a blue jerkin *à la Grèque*, adorned with a profusion of white lacings and a kind of epaulette of silver cord, ending with a tassel of the same substance. The Piedmontese was "drunk" not only "with gladness," but with right Nantz: and kissed and fondled his *compatriot* in the most ridiculous fashion. He would have honoured *me* likewise with a salute, if I had not been specially vigilant. Proud indeed he was of his friend's uniform and military honours, and thereupon exercised his eloquence most powerfully. Till his familiarity grew troublesome the display was not without amusement.

Thursday, 26th May.—To-day my object was to inspect the fortress of Palamedi before noticed; and by way of supporting my steps up the very steep ascent of the rock, I took with me a tri-pronged spear used for the purpose of striking eels. I walked with it the greater part of the day, and in consequence became generally known in Napoli (as I heard afterwards) by the name of Ποσειδῶν or *Neptune!* What a fearful misapplication of terms!

Wandering through the town, I was accosted by a Greek of respectable appearance, whom the *trident* had attracted. We entered into conversation; and having mentioned my desire to inspect the fortress, he politely accompanied me back to the commandant, who regaled me with coffee, and instantly ordered his secretary to make out an order for my admission. The name of this personage is Athanasius Phatoumara, a Suliote of distinguished bravery, and formerly in the pay of Lord Byron. He is a tall man, of very prominent features, marked deeply with the small pox; he is considerably advanced in years, and has lost his front teeth. Provided with the Suliote hero's passport, I set out for the fortress of

Palamedi, and had to scale a rugged and precipitous rock, the steps of which are so worn and broken as to render it a matter of some difficulty to preserve one's footing. We passed a covered way leading up to the fort, which is said to be bomb proof.

In former days the jealousy of the Turks prevented the inspection of this place without a special order from the sultan; but at present the Greeks appear anxious to shew any civility in their power to the English who visit the seat of government. The fort is a place of surprising strength, and scarcely capable of being taken except by famine; but it is now in a state of the most ruinous disorder. The fine large Venetian guns, which have been planted there nearly two centuries, are, many of them, so ill placed as to be perfectly useless. The carriages are almost all rotten; the wheels gone, and the guns themselves in danger of sharing the same fate. The iron guns, as well as the mortars, are all honey-combed; and as for the brass, (part of which are fourteen feet long, of beautiful workmanship, and ornamented with various devices appertaining to the ancient state of Venice,) some lie on the

ground without any frame-work whatever, others are pointed against their own battery, and from the extremely decayed state of the carriages, probably could not be moved; and of the few soldiers who guard it, I found the larger portion fast asleep in their capotes. The fort is excellently supplied with water from an immense tank, which is nearly full. It is said to be sufficient for a garrison of two thousand men. A few trees are found within its circuit, such as the cypress and fig-tree; and a few sheep pick up a scanty sustenance from the barren courts. The prickly pear grows in abundance, and might, on occasion, be turned to account. A low plant grows here bearing a sort of fruit of an elliptical shape, (like the head of a poppy before the flower appears,) which the Greek soldier who conducted me represented as a deadly poison; I conjecture that it may be a species of hen-bane.

The descent from the fortress was a more arduous matter than I had apprehended, arising from the slipperiness of the path, and the tremor produced by fatigue, thirst, and heat.

On entering the coffee-house before alluded to, I found several officers of the Cambrian

engaged in conversation with two Americans in Greek costume, and belonging to the Greek service. They represented their condition as most deplorable. One of them, a Mr. Gervase, or Jervis, had the rank of *lieutenant-general*, with a pay of *three piastres* per diem —somewhat beneath eighteen pence sterling! He has been nearly four years actively employed in Greece, and during all that period had not received a piastre of the stipulated sum. His distresses have been great; but he believed that those of the government were not less. Even *Prince Mavrocordato* had borrowed of him a few dollars for his immediate houshold expences! He spoke of the situation of the latter as one of intense anxiety and bitterness. He had to reconcile the continual dissensions of his soldiers, and to listen to the eternal triflings of his officers;—one wanted two paras, and another three,—they never suffered him to rest. He was besieged more resolutely than ever were the Turks, and in consequence he was seldom visible; if he were, it was to be surrounded by an army of malcontents.

Mr. Gervase, or Captain Gervase, as he is called, returned a short time ago from Navarin,

of whose unfortunate surrender he was the immediate forerunner, being with a small body of men on an island in the vicinity, which supplied the troops with water. The place capitulated, after the walls and every part capable of defence had been battered down, only just in time to avoid a second body of Turks, which came up with an intention to put the whole garrison to the sword the moment they should set forth. This is to make a "promise to the ear, but break it to the hope." The forces which had besieged them, fearing the last efforts of desperate men, consented to their departure, but at the same instant sent privately for a fresh body (ten thousand men) to intercept and destroy them! It is possible, however, that these last might have been ignorant of the capitulation, and of the circumstances attending it. We trust it was so; but the belief of Captain Gervase, and of his friend Mr. Miller, who was present, (I am inclined to think in the capacity of a private soldier,) is contrary to the supposition. Be this as it may, the loss of Navarin is a thing to be lamented. The situation is one of the utmost consequence, and unless some lucky turn of

fortune enable the Greeks to retrieve it, the loss will prove a serious misfortune. Pouqueville says that "the port of which Navarin commands the entrance, is the only one in the Morea that is capable of receiving and sheltering a naval armament *." It is obvious therefore how considerable is the loss—added to the death of Count Santa Rosa, who fell on this occasion. The cause of the defeat is attributed, it seems, to a detachment of organized Arabs, who this year, for the first time, have had a place in the Turkish armies. But there is one effect anticipated, which, if it really take place, will be worth more than all the English loans. This is, that the Greeks will now understand the value of *tactics*; and discarding their usual desultory mode of warfare, follow that system which the military discipline of Europe has sanctioned. They have discovered the superiority of the Arabs in this point, and their heads are now full of the improvement. They admit the value of what they formerly despised, and are anxious to acquire the knowledge of an art, which at length they find serviceable.

* "*Voyage dans la Grece*," Vol. V. p. 182.

But the worst is, that their pride hinders them from receiving an obligation. They feel themselves the descendants of heroes, and they look down with contempt upon all the rest of the world. They hardly believe any other nation can be Christians; and they speak haughtily and scornfully even of the very assistance which their necessities oblige them to accept. They fight (sometimes!) with the most determined valour, but they have no notion of order. They follow their captain (and he is their captain who pays them, but no longer than he pays them,) like a pack of dogs; and prefer bush fighting to all other. If a stone presents itself they skulk behind it and fire from thence at their enemies; load, and fire again, but never stir from the retreat till compelled to do so. Sometimes they will hold a parley like the heroes of Homer before they fight, then drop back to their shelter and fire away. With the musket they are excellent marksmen, it is what they have been accustomed to; but they make bad work with their artillery; still they do better than the Turks. At present they are not able to bring into the field one organized troop. Fire constitutes their main strength,

and will do until they listen to the representations of Europeans relative to military tactics.

Mr. Gervase, from whom I have learnt many of these particulars, is a modest, unassuming man, with a perseverance and a devotion to the cause in which he has embarked, as singular as it is surprising. The glow of youthful enthusiasm must now have abated; the selfish, ill according, and paltry views of some of the principal chiefs must have produced disgust; the hardships and privations which he has endured, and still endures, must (one would conceive) have alienated the most fixed attachment to the cause which, if it triumph, cannot *as yet*—and still he is the same to them as he was four years ago, ready to sacrifice his life, as he has expended his property, without reaping either fame or profit, whenever their interest shall require it! There is something truly noble in this self-devotion to the cause of liberty, which few, very few, will imitate. His countryman and comrade, Mr. Miller, (who has not been in Greece more than six months) gave me an instance of the manner in which they have requited him—the narrator was of the party. They were marching, after an ac-

tion with the Turks, and at night took up their quarters in a village which the enemy had abandoned. Captain Gervase commanded eighty men, with three of whom he selected a residence for the night. Another captain, a Greek, (whose name I am sorry I do not remember) commanding five hundred men, took a fancy to Gervase's quarters, and thereupon sent a large detachment to force him out. The American officer complained of course, and desired the other to be told "that though he might compel him to relinquish the place he then occupied, it should not be with his life." He bade them remind their commander "that he had fought with him and for him in many battles; and what had been his reward? The present circumstances replied to the question." This expostulation had its effect, and the quarters were ungraciously given up. But what the feelings of that Greek could be it is impossible to say. Did we consider the fact as a specimen of national gratitude it would be unjust; but one is sorry to hear it of an individual, although that individual be a solitary and an execrated instance.

The gentleman above named was employed

by the late Lord Byron in training the body of Suliotes which his lordship paid and appointed. He was with him at the time of his death, and speaks of him with regard and regret; but also as hasty and often petulant.

Before returning to the ship I turned down a street which I had not yet visited, and was brought to a building that had originally been a Turkish mosch, but which workmen were busily employed in converting into a senate-house. It had a gallery for strangers; and a carved recess at the further end, with a circular elevation, was designed for the president's chair. It resembled an English circus in all other points. I met here with two of Lord Byron's Greek servants, one of whom called himself a serjeant in the Greek army, but expressed much readiness to leave it for an English service. He shewed me a certificate of his good qualities signed by Fletcher, Lord Byron's valet, and the Count de Gamba, who, by the way, is now in Napoli; sent, it is said, on the part of the English, to get accurate information relative to the Greek affairs before the loan is negotiated.

My friend, George Carumba, the ci-devant

servitor of Lord Byron, brought me to the soldiers' barracks, a place built by the Venetians. He pointed out the *black hole*, in which several prisoners sat with the most rueful visages in the world. Close by, a man (whom I now immortalize under the name of George Steriathes, a Thessalian by birth) was making large excavations in the hope of finding treasures. The Venetians, it seems, buried great riches here; a fact ascertained by the indubitable authority of a manuscript, which had reached the person in question by the following process. About sixty years ago, a Turkish pacha inhabiting Napoli, became possessed of the secret, but being very rich or very lazy, he paid no regard to its value. A Greek boy, brought up in the pacha's dwelling, gaining access to his cabinet, pilfered the MS. with some other matters, and retained it to the day of his death. He delivered it to his son, and he to the next descendant, until at last George Steriathes became the enviable possessor. He being wiser, or poorer, or more credulous than his predecessors, commenced a vigorous search on the spot indicated by the paper. He has already found a vast many human bones and *a pestle*

and mortar, which I had the joy to behold. Further than this his hopes have not been verified; but he hopes still, and as he excavates at little expence, I suppose he will work on till he either undermines certain houses, or is stopped by the government. Peace be with him; and may peace follow the discovery of the money-pot! But I rather doubt it.

When I reached the ship, Prince Mavrocordato and his secretary, a German employed in the Greek service, and some others had arrived there. They dined with the captain, and afterwards went over the ship, with which, in newspaper fashion, "they expressed themselves highly delighted *." Mavrocordato was ar-

* The names of these honourable personages and their offices will be shewn by a well written English note, which one of their number addressed to Captain Hamilton.

"Sir,

"Prince Mavrocordato and myself will have the honor of calling upon you this morning in order to settle the business of the Anne, &c.

"The following gentlemen will have the honor to dine with you to day, according to your kind invitation.

"Panuzzo Notara, President of the Senate.

Constantine Mavromicali, } Members of the Executive
John Colete, } Body.

rayed in European costume—quite a beau. He has his coats from Stultz—paid by an order upon the Greek committee!* But this I only *opine*. His face is rather striking; he has a falling brow, cheeks full, and ornamented with huge whiskers and mustachios of an intense black; his nose is large and curved, and generally surmounted by spectacles. But his looks do not indicate much ability, although he is certainly a man of considerable talent. His voice is harsh and squeaking. They remained

Prince Mavrocordato, Secretary of State.
Buduri,
Caracazani,
Liverius,
Tricoupi,
} Members of the Senate.

" Your most obedient,
" Humble servant,
(*Signed*) SPIRIDION TRICOUPI."

" *Napoli di Romania,*
26th May, 1825."

Panuzzo Notara, the President, is of the same name and family with *Giovanni Notara*, one of the rebels lately associated with Colocotroni, and included in the same amnesty. The following is a list of them:—Colocotroni, Canelo Delijanni, Giovanni Notara, Metro Petrova, and Ghriva.

till a late hour; the prince happy, in all probability, to escape for a short period from the fatigue and torment of his most unenviable situation. During the evening our obliging acquaintance, the captain of the fort, came on board, having been invited by certain of our officers to inspect the ship. It was the first English man-of-war that he had visited; and "he was glad," he told Captain Hamilton, "that it had occurred when commanded by a person so much respected by the Greek nation, and so well known to think highly of their cause." Before he left the ship we entreated him to permit some of his attendants to dance the *Pyrrhic*, or, as it is now called, *Albanian dance*. This he very readily assented to, and we were greatly amused by the exhibition. Their gestures are exceedingly stately, and their features are so rigidly serious as to make one imagine that they attributed something religious, or at least, solemn, to the performance. They take hold of hands and move circularly; one sings, and the rest, in the proper place, join in the chorus. A little boy, and his father, a Greek officer accompanying Mavrocordato, waltzed together, the father with sur-

prising grace. Indeed, few of the Greeks are deficient in natural ease and dignity.

Friday, 27th May.—The *primates* of Napoli (so the principal people throughout Greece are termed) have, on the representations of Captain Hamilton, agreed to purchase the cargo of the English vessel, and suffer her to depart. Mavrocordato has given bills upon the Greek committee amounting to 600*l.* sterling, and upward. The freight is to be paid in ready-money.

Sailed from Napoli about noon: scarcely any wind; but it is curious that every morning here it blows from the sea, and regularly every evening from land—like a London merchant setting out for his counting-house in the city when the day begins, and returning to his dinner at night!

Saturday Evening, 28th May.—Off Spetzia. The captain of the Austrian frigate, who left Napoli the other day, after demanding unsuccessfully the vessels taken by the Greeks, and expressing himself convinced of the propriety of the capture, (which it seems he did,) came hither during our absence, and threatened to blow up the town unless an Austrian brig then

in the port were delivered up. The Greeks flew to arms, and a struggle would have ensued; but the primates very politely offered to pay the price of the ship and cargo, if the people would let it go. They were shewn how unwise it would be to make the attack; for should they beat off the frigate, or even capture her, the whole Austrian squadron, now in the Mediterranean, would instantly come down upon them. They considered that a strong representation of the grievance would be better. How this may be, we know not, but the poltroonery of the Austrian is clear. He feared even to menace under the batteries of Napoli, and left them, apparently satisfied with the determination of the senate; or at least assenting to its justice. But all this was to cover a proposed attack upon a weaker place, and to carry off a single vessel out of seven or eight: whereas if he had a right to one, he had to all, since all were in the same predicament! In reply to his demand, the Spetziotes (governed by the feelings already hinted at) answered, that he might take the vessel if he pleased, but that they would not deliver it. He took her accordingly.

The fact is, that the Austrians are resolved not to acknowledge the Greeks as a belligerent nation; they consider them only as the insurgents of a country with whom they are in amity. And, therefore, if their merchant ships can get a large freight for conveying Turkish property into a blockaded port, they think themselves justified in doing so, while any obstruction from the Greeks they imagine themselves called upon to avenge. This is so clearly an infringement upon the laws of belligerent nations, that Captain Hamilton has determined to represent it to our own admiralty.

Another English ship has been brought here like the former, laden with corn, from Constantinople, and bound, if we may trust the master or his papers, for Zante. We know this to be improbable; but as she was not captured where her object was evident, we have required her to be given up. The Greeks intend to remonstrate with our government on this head.

Sunday, 29th May.—A third English merchantman has been captured, and sent for examination to Spetzia. The master states, that thirty Austrian vessels, of the same description

as the others, are loading with corn at Constantinople, and with the same views. We are to put back into Năpoli.

While off Spetzia, I delivered to a Papas who came on board, a number of Testaments, which I have before said, the "Bible Society" sent to us. He would not receive them, and assigned as a reason that they had been *inundated* therewith. He assured me they had been supplied with more than they possibly knew what to do with!! Again, I would say, let the "*Bible Society*" look to it.

We have just had a Greek on board, splendidly arrayed. His name is Contomano Theodore Gkriva, associated with Colocotroni in his late rebellion. They have been both pardoned by the senate, and are about to lead the Greeks to attempt the recovery of Navarin. Colocotroni sailed yesterday for Napoli; and Gkriva came to thank Captain Hamilton for the liberation which he supposed (erróneously enough) had been owing to him. Perhaps the government has made this the plea on which they set them at liberty; or perhaps the Greek used it only as an excuse for his visit. The Greeks

have heard and known so much of Captain Hamilton, that it is no wonder they are curious to see him.

Evening.—Lying off Napoli. Mavrocordato is on board discussing the late captures. We understand that Colocotroni has arrived here, and proceeds the following week to Navarin. One of the soldiers who had been with Captain Gervase in the little island near Navarin, states the amount of this gentleman's loss to have been as much as fifteen hundred dollars. He commanded one hundred and fifty soldiers; they had been reduced to eighty, of whom forty deserted him, although provided with their pay before-hand.

Monday, 30th May.—Quitted Napoli at day-break. The Englishman was liberated on condition of his returning to Constantinople with his cargo. We left him at Napoli.

Tuesday, 31st May.—Continued calms, and the heat excessive.

Thursday Morning, 2d June.—By day-break this morning we fell in with thirty-eight sail of the Turkish fleet off Long Island, and within view of Negropont. The Capitan Pacha, Yuseff Mechmet, is among them. We

saluted him with seventeen guns, which he returned. There are two large frigates of fifty-six guns, seven remarkably fine corvettes, and six schooners; the rest are transports, including two *Austrian merchantmen*. Captain Hamilton and a considerable escort went on board the Admiral to demand the payment of seventeen hundred dollars, as compensation for the capture of an Ionian vessel, taken by the Turks two or three years ago; and for which this same Pacha had pledged himself to account.—Part of our people are just returned; and bring glorious intelligence of the success of the Greeks. Yesterday they blew up a large Turkish frigate and corvette; and captured six Austrian transports, laden with ammunition. Thus, the Turkish force on quitting the harbour amounted to forty-six vessels; but sixty-two have been mentioned. I think from the circumstances of the case before us, that it is hardly probable.

And as to the destruction of the frigate, the Turks assert, that they themselves blew it up, in order to prevent its falling into the hands of the Greeks: for a sudden squall having carried away their top-masts, they were not in

a situation to escape or to defend themselves. The story is totally absurd; and quite contrary to the natural character of the Turks. However, be this as it may, the ship is destroyed.

The Pacha's frigate is very large, beautifully modelled, and fitted out with every requisite. But the internal arrangement is represented as woeful in the extreme. Ammunition was lying scattered in every quarter of the ship; even in the Pacha's cabin. Most of the men were asleep, and the rest lounging about with pipes in their mouths. Upwards of thirty had no other employment than attendance upon the admiral; and the whole complement of the ship amounted to eight hundred men, closely huddled together. The apathy of the Pacha, relative to his losses, is strange and unaccountable. Besides the injury suffered from the Greeks, four of his corvettes had run on shore one or two days previous; and they were left to their fate. He was perfectly ignorant and indifferent as to what had become of them. The action of the preceding day lasted from one o'clock till eight, P.M. yet his remaining frigate fired but a single broadside; he himself *three* guns. According to his own account,

he saw the lost ship dismasted, and incapable of any other alternative but the desperate one of firing her own magazine; and he refrained from lending the smallest assistance. In fact, he sheered quietly off. The loss of the Austrian transports is of great moment. One ship of the present squadron has wholly expended her ammunition; and the Pacha expressed himself uncertain how he was to obtain a supply. It is said that the burnt frigate conveyed the pay of the troops on board: if so, it is irrecoverably lost. The reason assigned for depositing the money in any ship but the Pacha's, is the encreased *danger* which it draws upon *him*. The Greeks having ascertained this, make it the first object of their pursuit; and wisely, for coin is needed most, and it is most essential, since at the same time the abstraction must cripple even the feeble efforts of their indolent opponents. Ships of the line are not now sent into the Archipelago; and it is a species of policy to play the fool at the least expence. Amongst the personages that the Greeks destroyed or took prisoners, are three Agas, for whom the Pacha feels so much interest as to empower Captain Hamilton to ransom them

should they be found: and he, moreover, commissioned him to tell the Austrian commodore, that he had lost six Austrian ships, *which he desired him to recover!*

We had scarcely proceeded six miles from the point of our meeting with the Turkish fleet, —just off the Island of Zia, (anciently Cos, the birth-place of Apelles and Simonides,) when we perceived four Greek brigs of war starting from behind an angle of the same island, and immediately lying to. The foremost ship was making signals; and presently four more became visible. But no sooner were these eight paltry brigs, none of them above two hundred tons burden, espied by the Turkish fleet of *thirty-eight sail*, than they instantly altered their course, and steered westward. They were proceeding to Candia; but the remembrance of yesterday was fresh upon their minds. The fire of the *Brulos* was still unquenched; and with a degree of cowardly apprehension, never paralleled, when united to such infinite superiority of force, they made the best of their way off; putting into requisition both paddles and sails:—in short, accelerating their progress with might and main. A light breeze

sprung up to their assistance; but the Greeks, whose object it seemed to be merely to keep the enemy in sight, advanced slowly across in the line which the Turks had pursued. To the eight brigs just noticed, appeared fifteen in addition; apparently of the same size and force. They all continued their course till we lost sight of them; but before sun-set several guns were fired from the foremost ship. Whether they were for the purpose of cautioning the Hydriotes, as some imagined, or to allure the hindmost of the Turkish fleet to an engagement, in which they might entangle it with a fire-ship, we are yet ignorant. The last is not improbable.

Arrived off the town of Zia; the most desolate appearance presented itself that imagination can picture. The waters were completely covered with broken pieces of timber, the whole distance between Zia and Long Island. It was not far from hence (off Andros) that the successful attack of the Greeks was made; and the objects which we remarked brought to my mind a moral certainty of the falsehood of the Pacha's narration, with respect to the *manner* in which the frigate had been

destroyed. I have not the smallest doubt but that it was effected by a fire-ship. The sea resembled a carpenter's yard overflowed by a river: masts, spars, and chips were floating in every direction. I should have thought it impossible to produce such entire annihilation! Our boats were despatched to obtain a quantity of the wreck for fire-wood: the broken masts were black and half burnt. Portions of human flesh were found adhering to them; and several heads, with the trunk of a mutilated carcase, exhibited a loathsome memento of the late horrible catastrophe. The red calpac, or cap worn beneath the turban, was found in abundance—a cloth capote lined with ermine, a pair of scissars, and one or two small articles of that nature were likewise picked up, but nothing of value. The Ziotes had been busy enough before our arrival, and indeed were occupied as we past. They were too fearful, however, to allow of any communication.

Friday, 3d June.—Continued calm. About five o'clock this morning a brisk firing in the quarter of the hostile fleets was heard by the officer of the watch, which lasted upwards of a

quarter of an hour. It is therefore probable that an engagement has taken place.

Off Carysto, a small town in Negropont. There is a Turkish fort here, and fourteen small Turkish vessels of war are now lying beneath it.

Beating all the evening up the Gulf of Dora. The wind high, but contrary.

Saturday, 4th June.—Fair wind all the day. At two o'clock passed Ipsard. The ruins of a town visible. Scio on our right.

CHAPTER XII.

SUNDAY, *5th June.*—The Seringapatam in sight at nine o'clock this morning. Ordered to keep company. The Alacrity, Captain Yorke, at anchor in Vourla, from which we are at no great distance.

The Seringapatam, we hear, has been at Rhodes, to remedy a complaint of the English Consul, who, in despite of the neighbourhood, and consequent protection, of English vessels of war, had been robbed of considerable property by Turkish soldiers marching through the place. The Bey refused to repair the loss, and the commander of the Seringapatam therefore seized upon a boat load of bullocks. This caused a reprisal on the side of the Turk; he detained the purser of the ship, and I believe a midshipman, then on shore. It was threatened that if they were not released forthwith, a broadside should be poured upon the town.

The threat had an effect so far as to procure the emancipation of the parties detained, but not recompence for the injury done to the consul. This was positively denied, and the captain of the English frigate directed a shot to be fired into the residence of the Bey. Panic-struck at the unexpected and unwelcome guest, his obstinacy fled, and he instantly assented to the demand. How far Captain Sotheby was justified in firing upon this place I know not, but I know that Captain Hamilton last voyage (for the matter is an old one) refused to interfere!

During our absence a French frigate stationed here captured another Greek pirate, whom she discovered in possession of jewellery, &c. to a large amount, since identified as English property. The Seringapatam had pursued him, but, as it appears, without success.

A conspiracy of the Turks against the Pacha of Smyrna has just been detected, and thirteen of the ringleaders strangled. The reason of the intended crime is variously represented. It is said that the Turks engaged in it were disbanded soldiers, whose aim was to set fire to Frank-town and destroy the inhabitants, merely

to gratify their love of plunder; while discontent toward the Pacha was the cloak under which they matured and prosecuted their designs.

Monday, 6th June.—I made another excursion to the aqueducts mentioned in a preceding chapter *. On the brow of Mount Pagus is the ancient Venetian Fort, with the river Meles at its foot. The valley is dotted with olive-trees, and a few cypresses are occasionally visible.

As we crossed the hill "a great army of *locusts*" rose at our feet. There was not a green spot upon the soil, and its bare and parched aspect evinced the destruction which these extraordinary creatures had effected. They have wings, but leap like grasshoppers, to which, at the first glance, they bear a strong resemblance. They are of a variegated brown colour, not unlike that of a sparrow. Four small legs diverge a little below the neck, and two others of a scarlet tinge, long and thin, with the thigh carved like the handle of a fan, are attached to the lower part of the body.

* See Vol. I. p. 136.

The whole are furnished with claws, but the shanks possess a double row of teeth, which facilitate their fixing themselves where they alight. The head is thick and oblong. When they fly, the tail curls upward, and appears to serve them as a rudder. They occasionally send forth a shrill sharp note, considerably louder than the field-mouse.

Butterflies, of the most beautiful colours, were fluttering about in every direction. I caught a large one, of a fine yellow, streaked with black and purple; two round red spots were upon the lower part. Its wings were *engrailed*, like those with which a demon or a dragon is sometimes represented.

The fields through which we passed were full of fruit-trees; and the vine, walnut, apple, pomegranate, and fig-trees, gave promise of a most abundant season. The pomegranate is celebrated for the richness of its scarlet flower. It bears at first a sort of red berry, shaped exactly like a pear; in due time the berry bursts, and puts forth a large flower, the precursor of its luscious fruit.

Tuesday, 7th June.—A barbarous murder was committed by a Turk on the person of a

poor Jew. The Turk was coming from Bournavat to Smyrna by water, and invited the Jew to accompany him. When they were at a distance from land, the Turk suddenly started up, as if something at that moment occurred to him which he had forgot till then. "I believe," said he to the Jew, "you are the man who once insulted me?" The latter denied it, and asserted, that he had never seen him before. The Turk, however, persisted; and without allowing the Jew time for consideration, drew his pistol, and shot him dead. He then threatened the boatman with the same treatment, unless he instantly set him on shore. This was done, and he escaped. It is said, that the Pacha is endeavouring to secure him; but the chances are greatly against his being brought to punishment.

We met an officer of the Dutch man-of-war (the Diana, now lying here) at the Casino, this evening. The Diana was at Modon when the Greeks burnt the Turkish fleet. Her captain and several officers had been dining with the Pacha at his country seat, and were returning when they perceived the approach of the Greeks. Of course they hastened with all speed

to their ship; but were obliged to cut their cables in order to get out of the reach of the fire-ships.

Thursday, 9th June.—Quitted Smyrna at day-light for Vourla, where the Seringapatam had remained during our absence. About noon we distinguished her. She made a signal to inform us that a Greek pirate lay at anchor in a small bay on the other side of Macronesi or Long Island, which is one of the islands adjacent to Vourla. We accordingly made sail for one point, while the Seringapatam was directed to bear away for another; so as on either hand to intercept those we were in search of. The latter ship succeeded in securing the Greek Mistico, with ten of her men; but the rest escaped, although our boats with parties of marines were sent after them in different directions. The boats returned at a late hour, except one, which was ordered to join the Alacrity, now cruising between the islands.

Friday, 10th June.—I walked this morning along the sea-shore toward Vourla, to attempt a communication with the island across the mole, said to have been constructed by Alexander the Great. I succeeded in part; but

found the water growing deeper as I advanced. I persevered, however, till it reached my waist; and was only deterred by the slipperiness of the stones, which were covered with sea-weed. The mole was once evidently of great strength; and the fact of its having resisted the action of waves and winds for so many centuries, amply declares it. The foundation is composed of large stones, placed transversely, having an intermediate stone of the same magnitude fitted into a kind of groove at either end. The interior is filled up with small pieces, and the whole firmly cemented together. Nearly at the bottom I observed a sheet of iron adhering to the stone-work, which had been decomposed so as to form the outer coat; and to become literally a portion of the stone. It had affixed itself to an argillaceous deposit united with marcasite; and had grown so hard that it was with the utmost difficulty I could break off even a small specimen.

During my walk, the boat that had been absent all night returned with nine of the pirates; who had surrendered as soon as it was known that our party were English. These persons had seized upon and plundered an

Ionian vessel a short time since; plundered, at least, according to the account of her captain. The pirate, however, says, that he took away nothing; that he wished to board the Ionian, and was answered by a volley of musketry. That upon this he instantly began an attack. The master of the Ionian vessel, and two of his men were sent for from Smyrna, and have identified seven out of the whole number. These are, therefore, to be conveyed to Malta in the Seringapatam. On parting with their companions they shed a good many tears, and exchanged many *kisses!*

Saturday, 11*th June*.—This morning I renewed my walk of yesterday. Just beyond the mole I was shewn a tessellated pavement, nearly perfect. It had never been uncovered, and the upper stratum of earth and stone was indurated to an unusual degree. In removing this, I found a bronze medal, in excellent condition, but of no very considerable antiquity. One side exhibits the finely executed bust of a man in a cuirass; his brow wreathed with a garland, or band: and the other, a full-length resemblance of a man and boy. The man is in complete armour; his right knee bent, and

his arm raised apparently in the act of striking at the boy, who seems bound to a block, with his head falling back. The spot in which it was deposited may have been a bath; it lies close upon the beach, and presents a low surrounding wall in ruins.

His Majesty's ship Algerine, Hon. Captain Stopford, arrived this evening from Alexandria.

We have intelligence from Smyrna, that Messolongi has fallen into the hands of the Turks. But it comes through the consul, whose violent affection for the Turks and for every thing Turkish, is well known.

The Mistico belonging to the pirates, we have manned with some of our own crew; and two midshipmen are to take the command of her.

Monday, 13*th June*.—Sailed early. About ten this morning we fell in with an Ionian vessel, which states, that the Greeks have burnt more of the Turkish fleet:—one sloop-of-war at Syra, two at Milo, and three at Andro. An English brig is also said to have been plundered; but how, or where, we know not. We are making for Scio; in consequence

of a communication from the English consul at Smyrna.

Tuesday, 14*th June*.—A small boat (supposed a pirate) discovered at sea and chased. She proved, however, loaded with salt, and manned by Italians.

Wednesday, 15*th June*. — Off Scio. The English consul (a Greek Catholic, who is said to have been concerned in all sorts of nefarious traffic*!) sent information to Capt. Hamilton of several piratical vessels that had been cruising here; and at this time were said to be at anchor on the other side of Scio. We accordingly made sail; but the wind changing, and retarding our progress, we are to stand off till morning.

Thursday, 16*th June*.—Unsuccessful search made for the pirates. All along this coast, at the distance of two miles, are small watch-towers, erected by the Venetians. Sail for

* Amongst the rest, to have admitted the unfortunate islanders into his house at the infamous massacre which took place at Scio; and to have engaged the British flag in their defence, in order to extort money from each individual who put confidence in his mercenary promises!

Tino:—the Seringapatam, Algerine, Alacrity, and the Greek Mistico captured off Macronisi, in company.

This evening we passed Tino, and proceed for Paros. The islands of Mycone, Naxos, Delos, and Anti-Delos on our left.

Anchored all night off the town of Tino.

Friday, 17th June.—Back to Mycone by day-light, where fifteen pirates were said to be lying. To say *truth*, they *lie* all over: we found abundance of Misticos, but no pirates, after a full investigation. As we entered the bay, several Misticos attempted to escape; we fired a ball at one, and this intimidated the rest, who put back: but the aforesaid vessel eluded us.—That is to say, her crew ran her a-shore, and scuttled her. People from land have been scampering to and fro in great alarm: our boats, armed at all points, have been scouring the bay, searching vessels, and doing—I know not what. All the day it hath been "confusion worse confounded,"—the wind joining in chorus.

The Algerine, a brig-of-war, of ten guns, captured a Mistico (not twenty tons burden) during the night, who had attempted to *board*

His Majesty's ship!! so we are told. She had a pass from the Greek government; and, in all probability, will be set at liberty. The Mistico taken off Long Island (Macronesi) was burnt this evening. The hill upon which the mills * of Mycone are situated, was crowded with spectators; so were the house-roofs, and an open space on the quay. Men, women, and children, were squatting about it with earnest aspects, and, I rather think, with melancholy hearts.

Mycone is not engaged in the common cause of Greece: it is entirely destitute of fortifications, or protection of any kind. The inhabitants, therefore, are exposed to every party. They pay subsidies to the Turks, when they are at liberty to fetch it; and meet every call upon them with the most exemplary humility. The brother of the celebrated Canario is now here; he was on board the Cambrian to-day; and by giving evidence in behalf of several captains of Misticos, whose conduct seemed to our commander rather ambiguous,

* These amount to upwards of twenty, ranked in order on the slope of the hill. Five or six others are adjacent.

these persons escaped a mulct. Canario's brother is a little man, with a round laughing face, marked deeply with the small-pox. He had equipped himself with a large straw hat, in place of the ordinary calpac. It is not uncommon in the Cyclades.

Saturday, 18*th June*.—Landed at Mycone. The beach was thronged with curious Greeks. Mycone contains nearly two thousand inhabitants, besides strangers who come from all the adjacent islands to trade. A number of vessels, laden with Russian corn, were delivering their cargoes upon the quay. Amongst the Greek sailors was one who had been twelve years on board British men-of-war; he was at the battle of the Nile, in the Culloden.

The native women of Mycone are remarkable for their peculiarity of dress. The petticoat descends no lower than the knee; and the legs are apparelled in thick cotton or cloth stockings, most commonly *blue*, and sometimes white. But your *blue stockings* abound in this place; which may be the original depositary of the Cerulean caste. On this subject antiquarians are silent; and I start the hint with all deference to the azure authorities of my own land.

Mycone has a governor, who is a Greek. He is paid by a tithe on all produce grown in the island, as well as on whatever is brought for sale. Notwithstanding, he is far from rich. The island comprises a circuit of nearly forty miles, and produces an excellent sweet wine. Like most other places of the Levant, Mycone is overrun with priests. There are no less than thirty in the town alone; some of whom have the most squalid appearance, and seem the very personification of misery.

A small caique conveyed me to Delos, once the peculiar appanage of Apollo, and the centre of the surrounding Cyclades. What devastation has time and the hand of man occasioned! We landed at the ancient port just opposite the temple of the god. The ground for upwards of two miles was covered with broken marble or granite; capitals and shafts in the most forlorn state of mutilation every where visible! There is not a single column standing; "not one stone upon another that has not been thrown down." All the most valuable portions of sculpture have been carried off; here Goths and Vandals of all nations have found employment. Excavations have been made without

end, except to that of ruin; and upon the fractured entablature are painted or engraved names of all denominations, and in all characters! Such is the condition in which we now see this once magnificent temple. An inscription is very hardly to be found; and the French took almost the only remaining one a short period since. I made considerable search, and the whole that I discovered was on the broken plinth of a colossal statue dedicated to Apollo.

ΙΝΑΞΙΟΙΑΠΟΛΛ

Which in Tournefort's time (1699-1700) stood "in very fair characters," ΝΑΞΙΟΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ.

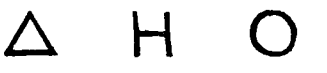
The stone however is now sundered in the midst, besides wanting the initial and concluding letters. Tournefort does not seem to have noticed any letters preceding the N: part of one still remains, and most probably was a portion of OI.

The theatre of Delos must have been a splendid structure. It is situated on the side of a hill, and built of white marble: but very little remains. You can just see the extent of

the whole, and the single side which is standing serves to intimate its ancient beauty, while it awakens the regret of the spectator. In front are vaults divided by arches, but uncovered, and almost filled up with stones, which, I suppose, has proceeded from the zeal of excavators! This place has been accounted by some a cistern, because a small aqueduct above leads to it; and by others lodges for wild beasts, which I conceive is the more probable supposition. Ascending the hill beneath which the theatre stood, you find considerable quantities of figured pottery; and on the opposite side are a variety of vaults, broken columns, and walls: most of the vaults are filled with stagnant water. The places to which I give this name are the remains of buildings, but they have nothing left by which the judgment may be guided as to their origin. From Mount Cynthus (where was the Acropolis of Delos, and from which Apollo and Diana took the names of Cynthius and Cynthia) is a fine view of this island, and of the islands which compose the Cyclades. The ascent is rough and difficult, and you have to scramble up many precipitous projections of granite rock before

you attain the summit. Two or three shepherds who inhabit Delos have built a sort of low hut here of loose stones. The little that is left of the ancient building is of Cyclopean architecture.

In the western quarter of the island is an oval basin once begirt with a wall, which, in the time of Tournefort and Drummond, was four feet high, and covered with stucco. Nothing remains now but the very foundation; in some places not even that. It has been supposed generally a place for naval combats; but if so, the number of vessels must have been extremely limited, and their scale very reduced. The water is salt. Upon the sand I found a small coin, but it is so encrusted with verdegrease that I fear I shall be unable to trace its impress. Portions of a marble structure were scattered about. There were three distinct pieces, the architrave of some building, upon which, in large capitals, in the order I discovered them, were



all attempt at explanation is, of course, impossible.

Swarms of the larger species of locust were here met with. This differs from the small one already described in several essential particulars. The under part of its body is of a bright yellow, from which runs a round, hard, and pointed tail of considerable length; above this, and under the wing, are two short horns or feelers, for what use I know not. It possesses a pair of nippers armed with surprisingly sharp teeth, very similar to those of a lobster. The head is excessively large and broad, covered, as well as the neck, with a hard scale. There is another sort exactly resembling the above in all but colour, which is a light green.

From Delos, our caique brought us to Great Delos, called also Anti-Delos, and anciently Rhenia—somewhat more numerously inhabited than the other. But all the antiquities have vanished. Of the many tombs formerly seen in this island, nothing remains but a few unhewn stones. The most antiquated thing we saw was a *papas*, who had fabricated a hat of straw, *helmet-wise*; an exact copy of that in which Minerva is frequently represented. A carpet wallet was slung across his back; his staff, long grey beard, and ragged clothing

completed the picturesque character of his equipage. He conducted us to his residence, which, together with the adjoining church, was in perfect keeping with his own appearance. Both the structures were covered with reeds. Of his abode, one part was raised and contained his bed, and in the other was a large fire-place like an oven, a sort of divan, and small table. He was just such a priest as Friar Tuck in his hermitage, after the portrait drawn by the author of "Ivanhoe." From a secret recess he drew out a large flagon of Ῥακί, a strong spirit, a sort of colourless brandy: from another depositary came forth a wooden bottle of admirable wine, made at Mycone, together with a sufficient store of bread, cheese, and curd. Of these materials we made an excellent meal.

Some part of the evening after my return from Delos I passed at Mycone. The English Vice Consul, Pietro Cordia, a Greek, invited certain of us to his house. Several papas had assembled there with others; but the most striking object was the wife of the consul. Her face was nearly perfect, and, but for the unhappy fashion which Greek women universally

follow—that of leaving the form as "Nature made it," she would have passed the severest test without censure. But European eyes and feelings attach something greatly repulsive to an unboddiced person; and it is not easy to conquer a prejudice so rooted, and in some measure, so just. Madam Consul must therefore plead guilty, unless the beauty of her face be sufficient to redeem the inelegance of her form. She presented the sweetmeats, *rackee*, and coffee, with her own fair hand; the highest compliment that can be paid to a guest. This lady is the second wife of Pietro, and it is said he was equally fortunate with his first, by whom he has three children: the eldest, (a diminutive creature of five years, but loquacious as a parrot,) on being told that I was a *papas*, expressed unutterable wonder, inasmuch as my beard had not that venerable length which became the vocation!—A small coin of little value, but found in Delos, was given me by the consul. He shewed us a letter from the Rev. Mr. Litchfield (whom I remember to have met at Malta) to Lord Guildford, speaking of the aforementioned personage in terms of great honour. Mr. and Mrs. Penleaze, an

English gentleman and lady, who have been sailing about the Archipelago in a yacht of their own, were kindly offered a cruize in the Cambrian by "our noble commander;"—they came on board this evening.

Sunday, 19th June.—All the day has been taken up by the vexatious concerns of the pirates. We sailed this morning for Tino: calms all the day.

Monday, 20th June.—Weighed anchor without landing at Tino. This place has a pretty appearance from the sea: the mountain is covered with villages; Tino lies at the foot. There are several churches here with high steeples; and a monastery of considerable magnitude has been now two years in progress. The consul of this place came on board this morning in an English *general's uniform*, armed on either heel with a *pair of brazen spurs!* A *star* hung at his button-hole! Such a ridiculous object mortal eye never glanced at; but "we know," as Trinculo saith, "we know what belongs to a frippery!"

We reached Syra (anciently Syros) about one o'clock. This place carries on a large trade; vessels from all nations were at anchor

in a bay of considerable beauty. The town of Syra is situated upon the sides of a cone, like a paper cap on the top of a sugar-loaf. Two higher hills, or rather mountains, rise on the right and left. The streets are not more than a stride in breadth, choked up with filth. On the apex of the hill is a convent of Catholic monks, of which Syra contains four: there are beside twelve Greek convents. I climbed upward, beset on all quarters by the most offensive smells, and stumbling at every step over a host of black pigs, which wallow among the refuse lodged conveniently in the streets—if streets they can be called. Houses of the most wretched kind were inhabited by objects of appearance equally miserable. But for all these *désagrémens* I was amply repaid when I had passed over to the opposite side of the town, and descended by a precipitous rock, forming one side of a very deep ravine, which here bounds the outskirts of Syra. Through the ravine runs a stream of water, and at the distance of a quarter of a mile from the town is a public fountain, gushing from the rock, arched over and surrounded by small orchards of pomegranates and fig-trees, with a white

cottage here and there rising from the slope of the rock. At this fountain all the female part of the population were assembling to draw water in large antique flagons, which they rested upon the shoulder. The roads by which they approached were narrow ledges on the side of the rock; and nothing more picturesque or novel can well be imagined than the *tout-ensemble* which this group presented. By the side of the fountain were huge pieces of rock, which ages ago perhaps had fallen into the depositaries in which they now rest. All the way up the ravine was similar; but here, that portion of the women who were unable to obtain access to the fountain seated themselves till they could fill their flagons and retreat: whilst others, tucked up to the knee, were washing their linen in the stream. In the mean time they were scolding and chattering and laughing in the purest "Heathen Greek" without intermission. Never were female tongues in more active employment; and never did they perform their parts better! Here were models for a statuary, one in especial,

"Whose plenteous hair in curling billows swims
On her bright shoulder; her harmonious limbs

Sustain'd no more, but a more subtle veil,
That hung on them, as it durst not assail
Their different concord; for the weakest air
Could raise it swelling from her beauties fair."

The dress of a great portion was exceedingly primitive: a loose chemise of thick cotton, lightly girded round the waist by a band of brown cloth, comprised all their clothing. Some, in place of the cincture, wore an open jacket; the hair was bound by a fillet, and generally covered by a small calpac; in particular instances flowers were interwreathed.

I watched the proceedings of this assembly for a length of time with uncommon interest, and returned to the town along one of the ledges of rock I have already mentioned. The women were yet flocking to the fountain, and now and then a most bewitching καλὴ ἑσπέρα greeted me from the lips of some fair Grecian. By a man whom I overtook and accompanied home, I was entertained with much civility*;

* From this person, who was a gardener, I received a branch of a beautiful plant, called the "tree-pink," which Dr. Clarke notices for its beauty and rarity, (Vol. VI. p. 150. 8vo.) It is, however, very common in Syra and in other parts of the Archipelago.

and indeed, I have invariably found the greatest goodwill exhibited toward Englishmen here and every where.

Tuesday, 21st June.—I proceeded to-day upon a route nearly the same as yesterday. There is a sort of suburb built upon the quay of this place, at the foot of the hill, where the people dispose of their produce. The English Consul has built a house here, on speculation, hoping to let his apartments to the travelling "*milordos*" who visit Syra. The entrance to the houses generally are by stair-cases from without, but this person has infringed so much upon the public way, that they have prevented his making this important addition to his residence. He applied to Captain Hamilton for remedy; imagining, perhaps, that there was nothing affecting the interests of an English consul which should not also affect the captain of an English man-of-war.

From these suburbs the ascent to Syra reminded me greatly of Malta, only changing the fig for the carubba tree. We have the same character of country, the same stone walls, and deficiency of verdure.

I could hear of no antiquities. Coins were

offered me in abundance, but there is no place where forgeries are more frequent, nor would the possessors part with one unless cleared of their whole stock. I procured, however, some beautiful lachrymatories, dug up at Athens, for a small sum.

I had nearly omitted noticing an observation of Dr. Clarke in relation to Syra. Speaking of the fountain just adverted to, he says, "It is also the scene of their dances."—This is *morally impossible!* The ruggedness of the place where the fountain is situated, as well as the *very* narrow limits allotted even for standing room, make such exhibitions altogether impracticable: they could not have stirred without being overthrown. But Dr. Clarke (I speak in perfect good faith!) was too full of classical literature; I should say rather, too full of the *desire to illustrate it.* Wherever he has offended, it has evidently been with a view to connect ancient periods with the present. I quoted one instance at Salonica, and accordingly here also he continues—"*The Eleusinian women practised a dance about a well which was called Callichorus, and their dance was also accompanied by songs in ho-*

nour of Greece. These 'SONGS OF THE WELL' *are still sung in other parts of Greece as well as in Syra**." He also remarks, that the women carry the water upon their *heads;* which they do not, but upon the *shoulder.*

With all the respect due to the attainments of this accomplished and lamented scholar, I am quite persuaded that he has frequently strained a point to favour an hypothesis; and that the love of elucidating topics not before commented on, has led him to follow an *ignis fatuus* of his own imagination. Without being *poetical,* he creeps somehow or other into fiction; and without meaning perhaps to convey a false impression, he has most assuredly contributed to much grievous disappointment. This I have found from more than one authority.

We learnt at Syra that the report about Messolongi is false.

Wednesday, 22d June.—Sailed last evening for Naxia, where we arrived early this morning. The marble gate of a temple dedicated to Bacchus, on a small rock opposite Naxia,

* Vol. VI. p. 153-4. 8vo.

was among the first objects which attracted me. I was unable to leave the ship, but Mr. Penleaze and my friend Power, (who is an excellent antiquary—"*after breakfast!*") were busied for an hour or two in researches. They brought off as a great prize a small marble slab, for which the former gentleman had bestowed ten dollars—considerably more, I think, than its worth. It bears a short inscription relating to some branch of the family of Crispe or Crispo, dukes of the Archipelago. From hence we sailed to the island of Paros to water the ship. We are now at anchor in Port Triou or Drio, and preparing for an excursion to the celebrated *Grotto of Antiparos* in the morning.

Thursday, 23d June.—I left the ship about three o'clock A.M. in company with Mr. Penleaze, Mr. Power, and some of the midshipmen. We had ordered a number of mules and asses to be ready for us the preceding day, but, as usual, we had to wait some time for their arrival. I was mounted upon a mule whose salutation the moment I bestrode him proved omenous of the catastrophe. Let me premise that the bridle, which was compounded

of various materials, most resembled a halter; the stirrups were of doubled rope, and the saddle, formed of wooden bars inserted in isosceles shaped frames, was girded by a sort of worsted bands to the animal: a goat skin with the hair outward rested beneath it. My cloak, folded as conveniently as my ingenuity could devise, protected me in a degree from the pitiless hard-heartedness of the wood-work. Thus caparisoned I ascended the undignified charger which fate had allotted me, spear in hand. Scarcely, however, had I advanced a quarter of a mile, before I found it necessary to alter the arrangement of my stirrups, and in so doing unwittingly gave offence to the ill-humoured beast that I bestrode. Therewith he began to depress his ears and to elevate his heels and to flourish his tail in a manner which I fancy I shall long remember. I clung with laudable pertinacity to the saddle, and should perhaps have triumphed over the brute, but at an unfortunate period round went the seat, and down went the rider, with one foot twisted in the rope stirrup, while this execrable mule was kicking after the most intolerable fashion. To add to the calamity my companions were

laughing—but *I* was too dull to comprehend the jest! I know not how it is, in these cases people's jaws are always ready for a grin; and any thing short of absolute destruction is sure to be welcomed with uncontrollable merriment. The ridiculous is the first thing that strikes; commiseration will follow in its own good time; but in the interim the most obstreperous cachinnation is sure to pursue the unfortunate wretch, and materially to augment his sufferings. Nothing perhaps irritates so soon: pain stimulates bile, and makes one heartily wish the authors in the deepest part of the Red Sea!

In vain I endeavoured to extricate my foot from the cord, the mule swung round and encircled it more completely. Assistance came at last, but not until I was bruised from top to toe. Ill satisfied however, with the result, I must try again, and again was left sprawling upon the ground. Endurance could go no further, so I prevailed with a man who was passing on an ass to give me the loan of it. This animal had neither saddle nor bridle, but a short piece of platted straw was twisted about his neck, just to intimate that he was to con-

sider himself on duty. In this way we proceeded, at foot's-pace, over barren but interesting mountains, smelling delightfully of the wild thyme; sometimes crossing deep ravines, and at others winding along their sides, with occasional glimpses of "ocean, slumbering like an unweaned child," and a sky above our heads as bright and as blue as Spenser's "londe of Faërie."

The back of my ass was as sharp as a razor, and, on a pinch, might have been substituted for one: the humane and soft-hearted reader will therefore easily imagine the sufferings that I endured. The mountains were too steep and the sun too fervid for walking, and thus the only alternative was to endure in silence. I disposed my cloak in the best way possible, but having no cord to restrain it, off it slipped, and I in company. At last I altered my position, and sat sideways, the common mode of riding here, even for men; but jumping up I jumped over, fell with a whack upon the ground, and bruised my hand so much that it became almost useless. Our guide, for his own purposes, conducted us out of the proper path; and instead of the two hours' journey which

we were led to conceive it to be, we found it *six*, so that the high antiquarian zeal of Mr. Power dropped to *zero;* and his complaints became quite pathetic. This state of things increased mightily, when on passing through a small pool of water his mule (whether startled at certain furious anathemas which he inadvertently uttered, or willing to cool the ardor of his spirits!) fell in the midst, and rolled him head over heels! Our whole corps reeled with laughter when they saw him rise, shaking himself like a water-spaniel after diving for a *duck;* but the thing grew a little more serious, when immediately subsequent to the fall, he approached a mule, (I believe the very incarnate demon by which I was maltreated!) and received such a kick as lamed him for a considerable time. How he limped forward, vowing to inflict all sorts of penalties upon himself if ever he was decoyed again by such villainous pursuits! And how he protested against his own folly, which had caused him to commit himself on this occasion! A little fire is soon quenched; and so it proved here. If I had said to my friend, as the CHRONICLER, in Ben Jonson's *News from the New World dis-*

covered in the Moon, whilom observed—"Sir, nothing against antiquity, I pray you; I must not hear ill of antiquity," he would have answered something like the HERALD—"Oh! you have an old wife belike, or your venerable jerkin there—make much of 'em." And yet, I assure all whom it may concern that he is fond of antiquarian pursuits—after a good meal! But we started in the morning without breaking our fast—and certes nothing can withstand that!

Our guide seemed quite dumfounded at last, and was totally unable to point out the road we ought to take. To quicken him somewhat, Mr. Antiquary Power drew an unloaded pistol from his girdle, and threatened in a lofty tone to shoot him if he did not instantly lead us where we wished to go. The poor fellow took it all for reality: his knees shook and bent; and, lifting his hands up, he bellowed out, Σάς ἀγαπῶ, σάς ἀγαπῶ,—*I love you, I love you*, with all his might. Another of the party firing at a bird at the same instant, he ducked his head in the greatest consternation, supposing himself the object of attack.

We arrived at length opposite the island of

Antiparos. There is a small and very rude church there. The boats are kept on the other side; and we were told to open the door of the church, and hoist a handkerchief on the top, as a signal. We also fired several shots; and after some time the Charon of Antiparos appeared before us. His boat was without ballast, and we were so many, that we narrowly escaped being upset. She drew in a considerable quantity of water. Landing in safety, we proceeded to the house of a Papas, situated in a small ill-built village. The lower order of priests appear generally to be the proprietors of an hostelry; at least, they never scruple to receive guests, or to receive money for their provisions. The apartment to which we were ushered was hung round with Venetian portraits, in all probability relics of the period when Venice was mistress of the Archipelago. The actual history of these pictures I could not learn; but they were more curious than valuable. The painting was a mere daub. In the area of this place, supporting a brick arch, was a handsome Doric pillar, which was miserably contrasted with the surrounding materials. Where it came from is a mystery.

There is a Greek church close by; and as if to evidence more forcibly the poverty and degradation to which art had fallen, they have decorated the front of the building with painted plates, in imitation of China!

We procured fresh beasts here, and continued our journey to the grotto, which is in the most distant part of the island. The opening of the cavern is on the top of a mountain, and rather difficult of access, about four miles from the village. The grotto itself is assuredly a surprising natural curiosity; but here again I must be permitted to reprobate the delusive colouring which Dr. Clarke has thrown over his descriptions. "The roof, the floor, the sides of a whole series of magnificent caverns, are entirely invested with dazzling incrustation as white as snow." So says this traveller, though he afterwards observes, with some appearance of forgetfulness, that it is sullied "by the smoke of torches, or by the hands of intruders *."

We were most of us disappointed; and it is the effect of language like the above, to pro-

* Vol. VI. p. 126. 8vo.

duce disappointment. Yet the cavern is a beautiful thing; and to those who have seen nothing of the kind superior to the mines of Castleton, in Derbyshire, (which was my case,) it must be an object of interest. You descend by means of ropes attached to large pieces of stalactite, not without some difficulty and danger. The intense darkness, rendered even yet more bewildering by the faint glimmer of lights below and above, united to your entire ignorance of the footing, and the nature of the descent, may produce some apprehension. Part of the way is entirely perpendicular; and for this they have provided a rope-ladder. The first entrance into the cavern presents a row of stalactite, exactly resembling a tattered curtain a little drawn: and the dimness, and height favour the deception. Every where hang huge masses of one shape or other; those from the roof are principally pointed, with a drop of clear water appended. On the lower parts arise pillars, rounded at the top like a pine-apple, and fretted in a similar manner. In some places the stalactite has partitioned off a portion of the cavern, making cells, whose roofs become ornamented with a broad and

sloping stalagmite, something of the pattern of a fish's fin. We fired a couple of ship's blue lights from one of the higher parts of the cavern. The effect was uncommonly fine. They showed the whole place to perfection, and gave a magnificent tinge to the opaque bodies of the pendent stalactites. I brought off several specimens.

In this cavern, A.D. 1673, according to M. Tournefort, the Marquis de Nointel, French Ambassador to the Porte, had the folly or the vanity to continue "the three Christmas holidays." He caused high mass to be celebrated upon a piece of stalactite, which still retains the name of the altar. "Men were posted from space to space, in every precipice from the altar to the opening of the cavern, who gave the signal with their handkerchiefs, when the body of our Lord was lifted up; at this signal fire was put to twenty-four drakes, and to several patereroes that were at the entrance of the cavern: the trumpets, hautbois, fifes, and violins, made the consecration yet more magnificent*." The Frenchman left upon his

* *Voyage into the Levant.* Eng. Trans. Vol. I. p. 205 1741.

altar a Latin inscription, purporting that CHRIST himself was virtually present there on His natal day,—"a striking example," as Dr. Clarke justly remarks, "of the Roman Catholic faith, as to the miraculous presence of the MESSIAH in the consecrated wafer."

Various parts of the different stalactites are bescribbled with names. Amongst others, some one has commemorated his own descent, and that of "*sa chere, et incomparable femme.*" I forgot the date, with every other particular. They ought indeed to have been recorded, for the special example and encouragement of other tender souls.

We returned fatigued to the house of the Papas; but having no time to lose, we immediately set out on our return. Mr. Penleaze and myself, with as many of the company as pleased, intended to visit the ancient quarries of Paros, and it was now three o'clock. Mr. Power's spirit here entirely failed him. I doubt his repast was not satisfactory. However this may be, he and the majority of the party hired a boat, and sailed directly for the ship. On the other hand, passing the channel, we remounted our mules, and set forward to Pare-

chia, built on the site of the ancient Paros. As we rode, the very walls spoke of past destruction. Pieces of wrought marble were perceptible at every step. This became even more evident as we approached Parechia. There was scarcely a building of any sort without some parts of an entablature. Broken capitals abounded; and several inscriptions drew our attention as we past, but we had no time for examination. This was a source of deep regret; but I live in hopes of inspecting the place thoroughly before our return. Paros was celebrated for its magnitude and riches; and I am certain that a well-conducted research will amply repay the labour.

We applied to the English consul for information relative to the quarries. There are two; and he stated the smaller one to be an hour's journey from Parechia, but the larger one three. To the last it was, therefore, impossible to proceed; and the other was the more important, because of an ancient *basso relievo* which it contained. Thither accordingly we went, through a well-cultivated country, abounding in vineyards, corn, olive and fig-trees. We proceeded along the verge of a hill

for some distance, and the valley beneath was truly beautiful. As we drew near the quarry every wall was of marble; and it was with extreme pleasure that we arrived at lengtli at the source of it. We were all weary, and had still a long way to ride. I, for my part, was suffering grievously.

On entering the quarry, which, from its appearance, must have been excavated by the light of the lamp, we found it tinged by time with a red ochreous colour; but internally of a beautiful white. The marks of the axes were distinct upon certain parts of the marble; and it bore altogether an original and antique air. The *basso relievo* was at the farther end. It represents an image of Silenus, (which is mentioned by Pliny * as having been a *lusus naturæ*, accidentally discovered while cutting the marble,) with a number of satyrs and dancing girls. A Greek inscription beneath records that it was dedicated by Adamas Odryses to the nymphs. It is extremely curious, though the workmanship is rough.

It was late ere we reached the ship. We

* Nat. Hist. L. xxxvi. c. 5. V. III.

traversed the most precipitous paths by moonlight, trusting to the unshod feet of our mules alone; and they never once erred. It is remarkable how they tread in places where you would suppose nothing could rest in safety; and how careful they are to select such paths as are the most secure. More than once I expected to roll down a precipice with the beast I rode; but on examination, I discovered that no other part was so commodious for a passage, or so safe. We had ridden this day upwards of thirty miles on animals that galled us most cruelly; and happy did I feel when I was once more lodged in my cabin. Labour had prepared me for rest; and rest is never so sweet as when it succeeds extreme labour. Our companions in the boat arrived nearly three hours before us.

Friday, 24th June.—Set sail for Milo. No wind. We took up a Mr. Robinson at sea, who is, I believe, surgeon in the 12th Lancers. He has been travelling several years in Greece. He spent three days lately in the cave with Trelawny and Odysseus on Mount Parnassus. They have laid up provisions for three years; guns are planted at the mouth of a narrow

opening; and he speaks of their surprisal or capture as a matter of utter impossibility. The character of Mr. Trelawny is not a little singular, but will not require long to unravel. He has married the sister of Odysseus, and she is with them in their cave,—the maid Marian of a second Robin Hood.

We hear that Odysseus has been taken off by a stratagem of Goura. Ulysses was confined in the Acropolis of Athens. Goura let down a rope before the window of his prison; and the unhappy man, supposing it furnished by friends without, in aid of his escape, seized it and descended. Goura, as they report, watched his motions; and no sooner had the prisoner trusted to the appearance, than the other cut the rope. Ulysses fell, and was killed.

Saturday, 25th June.—Near Milo, where we expect to arrive before morning.

CHAPTER XIII.

MONDAY, *27th June.*—The harbour of Milo is upwards of five miles in length, and very considerably incurvated. Ships commonly anchor at the farther end, where the town is just distinguished peeping over the conical rock upon which it stands. The ascent from the anchorage is about an hour's journey, over a ground which the ancients have excavated and used as catacombs. Here the natives continually find vases, lachrymatories, and other antiquities, which they sell at a high price to those who will pay it. We obtained asses at the foot of the mountain, and reached the summit about one o'clock. Antonio (the present pilot of the Cambrian) resides here, and is probably of more consequence than all the rest of the inhabitants put together, if we except the English consul, *Mitchell*, who had

the honour to entertain the late Queen Caroline, of unhappy memory, and to act as her pilot during her voyages up the Mediterranean. He shews the *sopha* upon which she condescended to sit during breakfast; and, I believe, treasures it with the most cautious solicitude. But it was to the house of Antonio that we were first brought; and courteously entertained by the females of his family. The women of Milo bind the head tightly with a white cotton handkerchief, in which they confine the hair thrown backward, so as to form a sort of bag, that hangs upon the shoulders. Their dress is white, with a short petticoat reaching no further than the calf, and embroidered at the bottom. Many of them wear a waist, chiefly of dark velvet, resembling the Venetian boddice. It is probably a relic of that costume.

The houses in Milo are a perfect contrast to those which we visited in other places, from the cleanliness and order that every where prevail. The roofs are made of matted cane, covered on the outside with gravel. Of course they are entirely flat. The walls are beautifully whitewashed, and the houshold utensils arranged with the nicest care. This descrip-

tion applies to all the houses we saw; but the streets, nevertheless, retain the customary filth and stench. From the higher part of the town, which was anciently the Acropolis of Melos, we had a singularly fine view of the islands scattered about. But the heat was excessive. We descended to examine the amphitheatre, situated with singular felicity in the hollow of the hill, having the broadest part of the harbour immediately in front. As we descended, a Cyclopean wall of the *second* æra to the right, and part of an ancient building of the same architecture, now converted to very different purposes, on the left, were observable.

On a broken pedestal in this place I found the following inscription, relating to the daughter of Cleonymus, whom it laments.

ΨΥΣΑΝΙΑ
ΦΩΝΑΤΩ...../ΑΚΑΙΕΧΕΚΛΕΙΑ
ΚΛΕΩΝΥΜΟΥΘΥΓΑΤΜΡΤΑΝ
ΑΙΑΝΕΧΕΚΛΕΙΑΝΤΑΝΚΛΕΩΝΥΜΟΥ
ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑΟΕΟΣ

This stone has been purchased by the French, who have indeed completely ransacked Milo. It is here (that is, in the amphitheatre) that

they obtained the statue of Venus now in Paris, and which is said to equal the famous Venus de Medici.

A little lower down are the remains of what I judge to have been a foot-bath. It has four descents, and will barely hold a single person at a time. Its exterior form is composed of four united semicircles, within which are the steps of the descent. The whole has been lined with coloured marble. Of the amphitheatre, about half way round, seven of the seats are in good preservation. They are of white marble, and as clean and perfect as when first laid. The ruins are abundant, though the place itself has not been of any great extent.

At Milo I obtained an antique signet ring, set in gold. It represents a beautifully executed bust of Diana; in one hand a spear, a quiver is on her shoulder. Her hair is twisted gracefully round the head. I also secured an admirable silver medal, struck at Cyrene in Africa. The front exhibits a fine head of Jupiter-Ammon; the obverse bears the plant *silphium*, with the legend KYPA and the cypher ⊓.

There are several hot springs in Milo, but which we had not time to inspect.

The Naiad frigate of forty-six guns, the Hon. Captain Spenser, joined us this evening.

A Turkish corvette of twenty-four guns and two hundred men was destroyed by a fire-ship under Miaoulis on the 2d of this month. Of the crew of the burnt vessel were *fifteen Christians and two Englishmen*, who received a regular pay of forty piastres per month.

The Hydra Gazette states that the two frigates from New York will arrive about July next.

Tuesday, 28th June.—Anchored off Spetzia. Two or three of us went on shore as soon as the ship came to an anchor. We heard intelligence of the most momentous nature:—it appears that Ibrahim Pacha has marched seven thousand troops to Argos, which the inhabitants immediately evacuated, first destroying what they were unable to carry off. Colocotroni had proceeded to Tripolitza with four thousand soldiers, in order to intercept him, but Ibrahim in the mean while reached Argos by another route. The forces of the latter are said to have been drilled by six hundred French officers—to their eternal dishonour; and his

artillery to be managed by Austrians—whose dishonour circumstances cannot increase. To counteract the effect of this, however, we understand that the Pacha is without provisions, and Tripolitza being but eight hours' journey from Napoli, Colocotroni must have returned to defend, and in all probability to defeat the enemy, if he be a true man: and that is the point. Four thousand men are in Napoli:—this place will not easily be taken; and it is confidently hoped that the whole Turkish force may be cut off. One would think that it *must*, if the Greek is a man of integrity: if he be not,

" Oh for a tongue to curse the slave
Whose treason, like a deadly blight,
Comes o'er the counsels of the brave,
And blasts them in their hour of might!
May life's unblessed cup for him
Be drugg'd with treacheries to the brim,—
With hopes that but allure to fly,
With joys that vanish while he sips,
Like dead-sea fruits that tempt the eye,
But turn to ashes on the lips *!

* Lord Byron, as well as Moore, has this illustration. (See *Childe Harold*, Canto iii.) It will be found in the third act of Webster's " *White Devil*"—

" Oh, your trade instructs your language!
You see, my lords, what goodly fruit she seems;
Yet, like those apples travellers report

His country's curse, his children's shame,
Outcast of virtue, peace, and fame,
May he, at last, with lips of flame
On the parch'd desert thirsting die,
While lakes that shine in mockery nigh
Are fading off, untouched, untasted,
Like the once glorious hopes he blasted *!"

No sooner had Captain Hamilton received the intelligence, which we immediately sent off the pilot to communicate, than he weighed anchor without a moment's delay, and ordering his gig to be manned, set out in her for Napoli; this is about twenty-five miles distant, but the moon is at full, and shines with a lustre I never saw surpassed. Captain Hamilton's object was to prevent, as much as possible, that indiscriminate massacre which too frequently follows a defeat in contests like the present—an object which language cannot adequately commend!

Wednesday, 29th June.—We arrived at Na-

To grow where Sodom and Gomorrah stood,
I will but touch her, and you straight shall see
She'll fall to soot and ashes."

Mandeville mentions this fable in his usual way. Tacitus is the original.

* Moore.

poli about noon. The substance of what has passed is this:—on the side of the Argolic gulf directly opposite to Napoli are a few houses, called Moulins by the French, and in Greek Myli. Ibrahim Pacha, at the head of six or seven thousand men, advanced from Tripolitza, (a journey of eight hours) and at Parthenon, which is about nine miles distant, the Greeks obtained the first intelligence of his march. They sent over to Moulins a troop of 240 soldiers with thirty horse, who attacked the rear-guard of the Pacha's army. Several misticos lay close to the shore, and opened upon the Turks a destructive fire. By a singular coincidence, the vessels of which Captain Hamilton had exacted securities for their appearance at Napoli were among the number, and did great execution upon the enemy. They were indeed essentially serviceable. The Turks were repelled with the loss of one hundred and fifty men killed and wounded, while the Greeks lost few or none. Two very remarkable circumstances are to be observed here: the first, why a larger body of forces was not despatched to stay the progress of the Turks, when from three to four thousand armed

men were at that very time in Napoli: and secondly, what was Ibrahim's motive for marching such a distance into the heart of an enemy's country, harrassing his infantry and killing his horses, of which he had five hundred, scarcely to strike a blow? He comes without provisions, ill supplied with ammunition, and worn out with fatigue. In this predicament surely he ought to have been fought with. But Colocotroni who is sent against him mistakes the road, and suffers him to advance within gunshot of Napoli. Argos is burnt in the progress, and the Pacha takes a timorous glance at the fortifications which he covets, and retires the way he came, unmolested and unmolesting. This is a surprising mode of warfare! The Greeks, it is said, refused to fight; they were secure in their fortress, and their concern went no further. But the Turks, we may presume, came but for the purpose: yet the rear-guard only engages, and is beaten, without bringing down the main force, or a detachment of the main force, to their defence! On the other hand, the Pacha marches unimpeded all through the Morea, he marches back again, burning whatever is capable of being consumed, and

reaches Tripolitza almost without a skirmish. It is supposed that he is now proceeding to Navarin, but our information here varies considerably; and let us hope, for the credit of ancient Grecian valour, that he cannot escape unattacked. The state of those Turks who were killed at Moulins is said to have been deplorable in the extreme: they had scarcely a shoe to the foot.

Two thousand Greek soldiers from Napoli are now on their way to join Colocotroni, and intercept the Pacha, but the government here do not expect that he will succeed. They have no apprehension of the faith of Colocotroni, nor was he ever accused of treachery. He quarrelled with the constituted authorities, and would have set them at defiance, but he never discovered the smallest inclination to favour the Turks. This I was told by Tricoupi. He may therefore hope, by continually following and harrassing the enemy, (united with their known deficiency of military stores) more easily to accomplish their defeat; and by saving the blood of his countrymen, by avoiding the hazardous expedient of a general action, to cut them off when their entire exhaus-

tion precludes any effectual resistance! When the disorderly character of Greek armies is taken into consideration, the idea certainly does present something of plausibility. One or two regiments have been regularly organized, and in the affair of Moulins used their bayonets, though not with much effect—indeed the action was nearly over when they came up. Tricoupi assured us that they are now eager for discipline; and the government itself appears to be taking steps which it would be well if it had taken previously. They are repairing the rotten carriages of their guns, and four or five French officers are busied in overlooking and conducting the repairs. Tricoupi says that the number of guns in Napoli amounts to two thousand; this may be, but I suspect scarcely a third of them are serviceable.

The following is the government account of the death of Ulysses, which I have translated as literally as possible.

"*Temporal Government of Greece.*

"To His Excellency the Minister of the Interior Eparch (or President) of Athens.

"As in duty bound, I relate, that on the morning of this day, about half past nine, I

was invited by the noble Vice President, Mr. J. Mamouris, to the Acropolis, where I saw the body of Ulysses Andretzos, broken on the right thigh, and on the right side of the head, lying below the tower [γουλᾶ] of the Acropolis, distant from the base four or five paces, bound by a pretty long cord round the waist, and another coiled up and tied also to the waist.

" From the fortification of the tower hung a rope sundered at about one third of its height from the summit to the base. The height of the tower is about eighteen perches, and the rope was broken at the length of six perches eighteen feet.

" I enquired of the Vice President; and he answered, that about the fifth hour of the night, a sentinel, who was not far from the tower, informed him, that he heard a crash near its base, and a groan. The gentleman ran immediately to the place, and discovered the body lying in the manner above mentioned, as it was also at the moment when I went; it had been left designedly untouched. I inquired of the soldiers of his guard, and they told me that one of them slept behind the gates, and the other in the same part with the

dead man; and that they did not know when he arose and fastened himself to the rope, in order to escape. I asked them, if they knew any thing about the rope; and they answered me with an oath, 'NO.'

"From the broken limbs then, as was said above,—from the position of the body, (for it was supported by the elbow of the left arm, or by the whole of the left arm, and by the head,) and from the rope hanging from the fortification of the tower, and broken in consequence of its age, it appears evident, that he fastened himself to it for the purpose of escape. The rope breaking at about a third of the length, he fell and was crushed, as appears from the second rope which he had to descend from the wall of the Acropolis.

"At the base of the tower opposite to which the said body lay, there is a high and very irregular rock. Upon this he fell, against the right side; with that great impetuosity which is agreeable to the law of bodies falling to the earth. So that the limbs before mentioned were broken, and he was driven back by this law, and shaken the said distance from that irregular projection united to the side of the tower.

"A physician of the city, Mr. Vitalis, was called in, in order to observe whether the fractures of the body were from the fall; and he gave his testimony in writing, which I enclose to His Excellency the Minister.

"It is granted by the permission of the Eparch to bury him with sacred rites: for 'the dead is justified from offences,' according to the divine Apostle, and he was buried by five priests to-day, about the third hour of the day.

"I remain,

"With the profoundest respect,

"In the absence of the Eparch,

"The Chief Secretary of Athens,

"DEMETRIUS VIAS."

"The 5th of June, 1825,

"*In Athens.*"

The following is the affidavit of the physician.

"Alle ore due del giorno 17 (5) Giugno 1825. invitato 'dal Vice Comandante della Fortezza di questa Città d'Atene di andare a visitare in quel Acropoli il corpo del fù Odisseo Andricio, non ho esitato un momento di eseguire all' invitazione.

" Entrando nella ultima porta del Acropoli sotto la Torre, ho veduto il cadavero d' Odisseo Andricio e visitando lo nudo dalla testa fino ai piedi ho osservato nel esterno nn' ampia Contusione alla Tempia destra, ed una frattura complicata dello stesso osso temporale: una livida Contusione e lacerazione degl' integumenti nella parte anteriore del osso frontale l' Omero destro, e le coste spurie della stessa parte fratturata.

" Nelle parti inferiori; ho osservato il femore destro nella sua articulazione alla Tibia, un' esterna lacerazione con sortitta dalla pattela, e fratura nella Tibia.

" L' altezza della Torre, dalla cui sommità si precipitò Odisseo, di piedi N. 108 fratturando l' osso Temporale, i cui fragmenti offendendo la sostanza del cervello hanno cagionato la momentanea sua morte.

" E confermando quanto ho esposto mi sottoscrivo di proprio pugno.

" Il Proto-medico d' Atene
" Dott, C. VITALIS."

" Atene 17 Giugno 1825."

In addition to this, the murder of Captain Fenton, and the expected death of Trelawny, prove how little confidence men of such principles can place in each other; and describe sufficiently the confusion and anarchy which now pervade Greece. Capt. Fenton, whether bribed or encouraged by those interested in the destruction of the parties in question, shot Trelawny in the cave in which they have both been concealed for upwards of three months. He fired twice; one ball perforated the neck, and came out on the opposite side. But the reward of his villainy was at hand. A Hungarian, a soldier in the pay of Trelawny, instantly returned the fire. The latter person is said to be in the most imminent danger; and the Greek government, with something of a barbarous policy, have stopped the medical attendant whom his friends wished to have sent. Mr. Humphries, an Englishman, in the pay of the Greeks, a friend of the party in the cave, and a close supporter of Ulysses, has been arrested in Napoli, whither he came (as he says) for medical assistance. His conduct, by his own shewing, has been most injudicious and improper. He left the army without per-

mission; and being a known and acknowledged partizan of Ulysses, corresponded with Trelawny, and forsook his duty to succour his friend. Now the first feeling which must have struck the minds of the authorities here, in a disturbed period like the present, would be, that he came as a spy; or, at all events, that his conduct was directly in opposition to their interests,—since he deserted his post, which he was bound to maintain, and came in a suspicious character to seek assistance for a determined enemy. Besides which, he has written a virulent letter to Mavrocordato, accusing him of bribery and assassination, in the instance of Trelawny, as well as of a design to carry him off in the same manner! These facts warrant a harsher proceeding than an arrest on parole.

The account given of Fenton's character is of the worst description. What he did was solely for money; and it appears, from good authority, that he associated both with Ulysses and Trelawny for the express purpose of selling them. This assertion is made upon the authority of Mr. Gervase, the American formerly mentioned, who introduced him to Mavrocor-

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dato, and discontinued his acquaintance on Fenton's intimating a design to murder his friend, the man upon whom he was dependent, and with whom he lived in the strictest terms of intimacy!! Such is the statement of Gervase, who regrets, as he well may, having had the least acquaintance with him. A Mr. Whitcombe was also in the cave when the murder was committed, and is implicated in the affair.

The death of the celebrated heroine Bobolina, is another tragedy of the times. It happened a few weeks ago at Spetzia. She wished to marry the brother of her son-in-law to some damsel whose friends strongly objected to the match. They endeavoured to effect it by force; and, in the confusion excited by this outrageous conduct, Bobolina was shot, accidentally, by one of her own friends. As an accident, it has been passed over in silence.

Thursday, 30th June.—The account of a barbarous massacre at Hydra, which occurred on Saturday last, has reached us to-day; and it is a circumstance which will do more harm to the Greek cause, than (in all probability) a defeat would have done. A Turkish slave, on

board a Greek brig-of-war, set fire to the powder magazine, and blew up the vessel, together with the captain and her whole crew. This intelligence was no sooner heard at Hydra, than the rabble, infuriated with their loss, seized upon two hundred Turkish prisoners, and murdered them upon the beach. Mr. Masson, who arrived from Hydra this evening, was a spectator of the horrible catastrophe; and to add yet more painfully to the feeling which attends this relation, he declared, that he saw a number of children standing on the wall, clapping their hands, and laughing in the greatest delight! The primates were totally unable to protect more than five women, who took shelter in one of their houses, and with the utmost difficulty they saved them. The brave Canaris threw himself on the ground in a convulsion of tears, at witnessing the horrid spectacle; but what can control the violence of an enraged populace? What have not French mobs been guilty of? What outrage even have not our own committed when stirred to desperation, or inveigled into tumult? Alas! human passions are fearful things, and fearfully do they shew themselves; but were

it to answer any useful end, I could demonstrate that on far less occasions than the present, they have broken forth in their wildest and most appalling forms! It is well known, that the crew of a Greek cruiser-of-war consists almost entirely of those connected with the commander by ties of relationship. The ship is the property of the captain; he equips it at his own expence, and pays the men out of his own funds. Of course, therefore, his stake being large, he prefers those upon whom he conceives that he can depend the most; and they, in the present depressed state of Greece, being stricken with the national poverty, are glad to accompany their kinsmen in any capacity which their abilities may admit of. In the destruction of the Greek brig, then, it is easy to see what a sweep of family connections it would embrace. Not only the immediate relations of the chief, but the collateral branches of every mariner in the ship would be involved in the exasperation of the moment, and in the vindictive feeling which it urged. Forty-five men perished in the explosion; twenty-five returned to Hydra. These men, smarting under their wounds, and detailing,

with some exaggeration probably, their disaster, awoke the fury which ended in the horrible butchery just detailed. What I have said may, perhaps, afford some meliorating plea; but no man can, for a moment, attempt its justification. Facts of this kind deserve the horror they universally excite; but let no one confound the innocent with the guilty, and denounce a whole people for the crime of a few. Such conduct is too common. I have listened with surprise (to say the least!) to wishes of extermination applied to the whole Greek nation; and I have felt that the heart which could really generate such a wish, was of a blacker dye than the hand that was dipped in the blood of the unfortunate Turks at Hydra. For there could be no provocation to awaken it, and, I should think, little inducement to express it. It is not justice; and if it were—

> "Consider this,—
> That in the course of justice none of us
> Should see salvation."

I leave the propagators of such opinions to their choice, either of an imbecile head, or a wicked heart!

The Turks were taken prisoners at Syra when a Turkish corvette ran on shore there. It is said that one single man killed thirty of these poor wretches with his own hand. He dragged them from the monastery where they were confined, and shot or stabbed them at the gate. In his eagerness to do the work of death he closed behind him the doors of the monastery, and excluded the rest; as if he feared another should rob him of the glory, or that he should be unable to glut himself sufficiently with blood. From an apprehension that some retaliation of barbarity might take place at Smyrna, the Naiad has been sent there.

Mr. and Mrs. Penleaze left us in their yacht this evening.

Saturday, 2d July.—We have had intelligence to-day from Missolonghi. It is stated that the Turks made an attack during the night upon an island over against the town, where there is a small battery: they were repulsed by the Greeks, who suffered them to land at first without opposition, but finally took from them one hundred and fifty stand of arms, and destroyed two hundred men.

We hear also that the army under Coloco-

troni has increased to eight thousand men; some rumours say more; but it is difficult to arrive at the truth. It is certain, however, that they have cut off a supply of ammunition on its way to the Pacha's army amounting to one hundred camels' load. Notwithstanding, the situation of the Greeks is very precarious; the soldiers cannot be induced to face the enemy; and once since Ibrahim's appearance before Napoli, Colocotroni was left with not more than twenty men. There are not wanting those among us who think the Greek cause utterly lost; the government here are evidently in great tribulation, and possess very little authority over their troops. Mavrocordato appears oppressed with intense anxiety, but to have very few opinions of his own: he assents, or appears to assent, to every thing. *I* do not think unfavourably of the cause, and therefore have much opposition to encounter:—we shall see presently how it will terminate.

A nephew of the celebrated GENERAL WASHINGTON has arrived here from America, in order to co-operate with the Greeks. He intends to *levy a body of troops in Ireland*, and talks of embarking before long with that

view! There are also two Irishmen, Messieurs Emmerson and Tennant, who have had commissions in the Greek army, and have also served at sea with Miaoulis: but they are sick of Greece and liberty, and are of opinion that it is better sailing in His Majesty's ship Cambrian than to have bush-fighting and short commons in the Morea! No doubt they are quite right.

It is singular with how many wild ideas Europeans come into Greece. Some design presently to carve out fortunes, others look for fame, intending to enact the hero, while a third class dream of "Asiatic eyes" and love and liberty. Some, having ruined themselves in fortune and in character at home, embark for Greece to perpetuate their infamy, and die by assassination:—of such are Fenton and the rest of that party. Others again are filled with a sort of spurious enthusiasm, gendered upon a sickly habit by committee meetings, inflammatory speeches, and idle rodomontades—these are perhaps the most numerous: and the result of all is the most irritating disappointment. Instead of finding Greece that land of spotless purity which their imaginations have depicted,

they find evil stalking abroad as openly as at home. Naturally supposing that every Greek must be a man of honour and honesty, they trust without the smallest precaution: if they be once taken in, their malediction strikes at the very hearts of Greece! At home, however, they would have acted more warily, and therefore might have escaped the deceit: they never for a moment imagine that the Greek may be poor, the victim of a desolating war, and consequently desirous of turning his merchandize to the best account. Thus they instantly denounce *Greece* as the land of extortion! But their own country will furnish them with examples of equal rapacity, with less excuse! They enter modern Greece possessed of little more acquaintance with it than what arises from newspapers, or from certain reminiscences of its ancient history: they come full of their own importance, of the value of their services, and of the prodigious recompences due to them,—they interfere with what they do not understand—prescribe rules for the conduct of a people whose character they have not considered—are offended at not meeting the comforts and conveniences of advanced

civilization, and return to Europe to discharge their venom, invent frothy declamations, and render their inconsistency the laughing stock of all about them. Such, I verily believe, is the true state of the case as it regards those who have returned home disgusted with the condition of Greece. They have had faith in visionary fancies; they have dreamt a pleasant dream, and they have awoke mortified at not finding in reality the glorious assemblage of beings and things for which their excited minds had prepared them. Even the sublime aspect of Greece is lost upon such persons. They see in her mountain grandeur nothing but sterility, in the ruined monuments of her ancient magnificence one uniform and wearisome monotony —they languish for cultivated fields and forest-trees, for turnpike-roads and coaches; and when they look in vain for the solid contents of an English larder at the end of their journey —when they find salt and a few pot-herbs (though in the excursions which I have made it has generally been my luck to fare somewhat better!) in place of the dainty morsels of their imaginary *Cocaigne*, they are all astonishment and indignation and dismay! Enthusiasm is

lost in vexation, and frequently replaced by a vindictiveness of feeling which urges to the most indecent demeanour. Formerly their tongues never moved but to panegyrise Greece, now they are equally prolific in invectives; no report can be too false or too foolish for their credence; no fate too direful for a nation so degraded and lost! "Greece is unfit for liberty, and ought to remain in thraldom." This is the cant of the party, which forgets, in its wisdom, that what the multitude are they must always be if no change operates in their favour: if they continue slaves they will retain the feelings and the barbarism of slaves—"Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis*." It is absurd to expect constancy of valour from a race trained up in moral and political debasement, or greatness of mind from a people trammelled in the bonds of an uncivilized, heartless, and paralizing despotism. If you would amend Greece, set her free; if you would renew her youth of virtue, remove that decrepitude of heart and soul which the wise and the good cannot but lament—set her free! But do not expect instantaneous amendment; do not re-

* Horace.

pose in utter impossibilities! Let the medicine have time to take effect! It may at first produce some violent commotion—it may irritate the frame, and the crisis may be full of danger; but it will, it *must* triumph at length. He who can suppose that the bare donation of liberty is to work a sudden and vital change, is to exalt humanity from the lowest state of degradation to that height at which it ought to stand; or he who can imagine that liberty when given and assured, demands not intense and habitual watchfulness; that it does not, like a rare exotic, call for the most assiduous culture—for the pruning of superfluous branches—for the plucking away of rank and discoloured leaves—for light, and heat, and moisture, all that can cherish and protect—such a man is a trifler, an enthusiast, duped by his wishes, or by his ignorance of mankind!

Saturday Evening.—The Rose, Hon. Captain Abbot, arrived yesterday from Corfu, and sails again on Monday with dispatches for Sir Frederic Adam. I was this morning in the arsenal of Napoli: it gave me pleasure to perceive that they were busily employed in making carriages for their guns in the fortress of

Palamedi,—it is surprising that they have been neglected so long. Here were reposited 22,000 balls taken from the Turks at the time when we last met their fleet, besides a large quantity of shells, carriages for guns, large brass bombs of beautiful workmanship, and a considerable quantity of flour. They have a place here for casting ball, erected by a *papas* who can neither read nor write, and who is almost crazy: he was one of the 20,000 monks upon Mount Athos before the Turkish invasion, and fled from thence at that period. Besides the ingenuity exercised in the iron foundery, he is or was a fabricator of watches, thus making up, by his mechanical turn, for his deficiency of brain; and proving that the one may exist, to a degree, without the other. Greek workmen are employed here, under the superintendence of a Frenchman, in polishing muskets and sharpening bayonets. That portion of the soldiery who have been taught European tactics (I have the authority of a military man for the assertion) go through their evolutions in a manner which is far from contemptible, and much beyond what could be expected.

Sunday Evening, 3d July.—A considerable discharge of musketry took place this evening at the gates of Napoli. It was a sort of *feu de joie* for the arrival of twenty camels' load of ammunition, just taken from the Turks at Salona, a place in the gulf of Lepanto. And an English merchantman has arrived laden with ammunition for the Greeks. There is a Polonese on board, who, with his wife, (an English woman,) is come out to train *Greek cavalry*. The gentleman wears a pair of brass spurs longer than any it has been my lot to mark; and his military surtout covered with *frogs* is complete evidence of his qualifications as a cavalry officer. Pity it is that the government have no horse for him to train! I know not how he will employ his spurs, (nor where he *gained* them!) The streets of Napoli are too rough for a lounger, and the times too dangerous! The lady, however, has my unfeigned commiseration. They are both *grievously disappointed!*

Monday, 4th July.—The Algerine (having been in quarantine some days) sailed for Malta. We weigh anchor in the morning for Cerigo, near which the Turkish fleet are now cruising.

Tuesday, 5th July.—Off Spetzia at dusk this evening. About thirty Greek vessels of war are at anchor here. They state that the Turkish fleet has entered Navarin; and it may be feared, that the next step, will be to send troops to the relief of Ibrahim Pacha; unless he is cut off before they arrive. In that case the subsidy will share the same fate.

The Greek vessels in Spetzia are refitting, and obtaining fresh supplies of men and provisions. They saluted us. Three of them, the property of Bobalina, were here; their flags half-mast high, out of respect to her memory.

Wednesday, 6th July.—Off Cerigo. A boat sent on shore, and sail made on its return. A fleet of Austrian merchantmen in sight.

Thursday, 7th July.—The Austrians were boarded this morning by six Greek vessels-of-war; and, after examination, suffered to proceed.

Saturday, 9th July.—Passed Modon at an early hour. A large body of Turks were observed encamped upon the beach; and it seems strange that they have not yet marched to Tripolitza! About ten o'clock Navarin, (an-

ciently Pylos, one of the three places which disputes the honour of having given birth to Nestor,) was on our starboard quarter. We distinguished the Turkish flag above the town.

In the afternoon upwards of forty sail of the Turkish fleet, apparently standing over to Patras, or Missolonghi, were in sight. Amongst them were eight frigates. We lost sight of them while wearing off Zante, to which we sent a boat, and then made sail for Corfu, business of moment calling Captain Hamilton thither, against all expectation!

The appearance of the town of Zante, ("nemorosa Zacynthos") is very picturesque: but more of it hereafter. Two small islands on the approach, (about twenty miles distant) now called *Strivali*, but formerly Strophades, were the poetical residence of the *Harpies*. Virgil says,

> " Strophades Graio stant nomine dictæ
> Insulæ Ionio in magno: quas dira Celæno,
> Harpyiæque colunt aliæ *." [1]

We passed close to *Samos*, or *Same*, or *Cephalenia*, now Cephalonia, and like Æneas

[1] Æn. iii. 210.

"Effugimus scopulos Ithacæ, Laertia regna," nor did we want those among us who might have added on their part, and on that of their friends, "Et terram altricem sævi execramur Ulyssis." As the night set in, the "cloudy summits of Mount Leucates," now Santa Maura, became visible.

Monday, 11*th July*.—We fell in with the Scringapatam and Sybille early, off the promontory of Leucadia, so celebrated for the leap of the poetess Sappho. Of what a fearful mass of unrestrained passion must this unhappy wretch have been composed! Are her songs or her desperation the occasion of her immortality? Nothing but a few fragments of the first have descended to us; while the second has come fresh and sparkling through the obscurity of time! Yet her celebrity, as a favorite of the muse, is mingled with her despair, as a lover: but for this, she would have died as ingloriously, and been almost as much forgotten, as that voluptuous tailor, who, according to Master Francis Osborn, "whined away himself for the love of Queen Elizabeth*."

* Works, p. 67.

The leap from the Leucadian rock was peculiarly appropriated to men, and Sappho was the first woman who attempted it—I suspect the last. It therefore became our tailor to have exchanged destinies with the lady; and as she was a poetess,—a blue-stocking,—it was an extraordinary solecism in her to depart this life in any other capacity than that of a sonnetteer. And especially after broaching such a piece of logic as the following: "To die is an evil; the gods have determined it so—otherwise they would die themselves." With this sentiment in her mouth, who does not see the unsuitableness and inconsistency of the proceeding? And who will not admire the delicate and ingenious decease of the tailor, who drops off, like a musical amateur, overcome by a pot of porter, lounging upon a sofa, and sluggishly striking the strings of a guitar, till he gradually falls asleep to the sound of his own harmony! Now, had Madam Sappho made so judicious an exit, she might have left behind her, some such exquisite little song as "The Lost Aspatia" concludes with, in "The Maid's Tragedy,"—

" Lay a garland on my hearse
Of the dismal yew;
Maidens, willow branches wear,
Say, I died true:
My love was false, but I was firm
From my hour of birth;
Upon my buried body lie
Lightly, gentle earth."

But the waters, truly, might lie lighter on Sappho; and the white foam of the ocean, as it dashed around the descending form of the passion-devoted minstrel, might weave a more magnificent shroud, and wreath a garland corresponding better with the qualities of her soul, than maidenly fingers could fabricate!

This evening we passed Calamas, a small island, which has been given up as an asylum to the Greek refugees. It is but a few miles distant from Albania, and is in continual quarantine. Came to an anchor in the bay of Santa Maura, at a late hour.

Tuesday, 12th July.—Sir Frederic Adam, lord high-commissioner of the Ionian isles, who is at present on board the Sybille, says, that he has received pretty certain intelligence, that Colocotroni is bought by the Turks. This has always been apprehended. It is said, that

previous to joining the army, he had suffered his beard to grow; a testimony, all over the east, of unrequited injury, and of meditated revenge! Our meeting with Sir F. Adam prevents our voyage to Corfu, and we return immediately.

About ten o'clock to-night we observed several fires in the quarter of Missolonghi and Patras, which extended a very considerable distance. We have puzzled ourselves in vain to account for them.

Wednesday, 13th July.—The lights were seen till day-light, but nothing is known at present respecting them. Ten sail of the Turkish fleet were discovered this morning bearing up the Gulf of Patras.

At Zante about two o'clock. Mr. Power left us here in order to return home. There are few whom I have parted with less willingly, or of whose welfare I shall be more rejoiced to hear.

Several boats full of women and children have arrived at Zante from the Morea. They bring word, that the Turks at Tripolitza attacked the Greeks, and drove them two hours' journey back to Napoli; but Ipsilanti (who it

seems had been absent) coming up in the interim, they returned to the attack, and beat the Turkish army into Tripolitza, with the loss of between four and five hundred men. How many fell of the Greeks we have not heard. Colocotroni is still, to all appearance, faithful; he has sent to the villages along the west side of the Morea coast to desire them to remove their families with all dispatch, since the Turks have landed troops at Patras. This has caused several misticos to stand over to Zante filled with those unfit to carry arms; and it speaks well for the resolution of the Greeks, and consequently for the Greek cause.

We have heard guns firing all the morning from Missolonghi; and a thick body of smoke, supposed to be caused by burnt corn-fields, was rising in that quarter toward evening; at twilight a large red flame was distinctly visible.

The success at Tripolitza will be important on several accounts. In the first place, it proves either that Colocotroni is not false, or that he does not possess that influence over the men which treachery might profit by. In the second place, the Greeks will lose their terror of the Egyptian forces, and having proved them-

selves superior in a pitched battle, notwithstanding the organization of their opponents, they will proceed with more confidence and hope to the issue. Thirdly, the contest itself, apart from the success, will inspirit the government, and encourage those to assist them who might previously have been deterred by their lethargy and want of union.

Thursday, 14*th July*.—A thunder-storm. The lightning was of peculiar vividness and beauty; one flash, thin and sparkling, resembled a rope uncoiling, and another pourtrayed that description of flash which Jupiter is generally represented by the ancients as in the act of brandishing.

Friday, 15*th July*.—We fell in, this evening, with nine sail of the Greek fleet. Captain Hamilton being desirous of communicating with them, fired a gun in order to bring them to. But taking us for Turks, and observing signals flying at our mast head, which were made to the senior officer (Captain Pechell of the Sybille) on some other matter, they sheered off. The worst of it was, that four Austrian merchant ships which they had captured, laden with corn and flour from Constantinople, were

liberated, under the impression of our being a Turkish force. They confirmed the information relative to the defeat of Ibrahim Pacha at Tripolitza: but how strange is it, that their fleets do not follow that of the Turks to Missolonghi! This it does not appear that they have thought of. Content with defending their own immediate possessions, the owners of the Greek ships forget that the fall of one post prepares a second for destruction, and that this selfish and near-sighted policy must in the end be fatally prejudicial to their own interests. There is a passage in Knolles so apposite to the present character and situation of the Greeks that I cannot resist the temptation of an extract.

"The report of this coming over of the Turks into Chersonesus, and of the taking of the castle of Zembenic, carried in post to Constantinople, was sufficient to have stirred up any provident or careful men presently to have taken up arms for the recovery of the lost castle, and the driving out again of the barbarous enemies out of Europe, before they had gathered any greater strength, or settled themselves in those places; but such was the careless negligence and great security of the proud

Greeks, that instead thereof, they, to extenuate the greatness of the loss, commonly said, 'That there was but an hogstie lost;' alluding unto the name of the castle: and vainly (as saith a grave father of their own) jesting at that was not to be jested at, and laughing at that was not to be laughed, but lamented for; as in few years it proved, their foolish laughter being not without good cause converted into most bitter tears*."

The æra in which this circumstance occurred was A.D. 1328, in the degeneracy and decline of the Greek empire; and we see in 1825, with regret, how little they have profited by the errors of their forefathers. But the inertness which hitherto has accompanied their proceedings will necessarily wear off; for much of it arises from inexperience, and from want of dependence upon those who surround them. The steel which has been long laid up amid damp and darkness becomes corroded and dull, it requires time and industry to renew its polish! Let us bear with them awhile: instead of denouncing their weakness, and ca-

* History of the Turks, p. 185, fol.

luminating their best intentions, let us give them, at least, the encouragement of our wishes. If, after all, they remain the abject creatures which some imagine, (and which none have taken more trouble to insinuate than those who have been prowling like jackals round the ruins of Ephesus!) their fate will arrive soon enough; and it will be replete with terror! In the mean while, let every thing have its course. But, above all, keep from them that Quixotic class of interlopers who run about the country peeping into this corner, and bouncing out of that; meddling with affairs above their comprehension, and disturbing the national councils with a crude train of school-boy dreams and maudlin fancies! One builds frigates in America, and another brings armies from Ireland—here large bodies of well-appointed cavalry start into life from the dragon teeth of some Western Jason, and there stalks "an errant knight, or arrant knave," ready to marshal them the way to victory and freedom, in the snapping of a flint! And what becomes of all these fine projectors? Why, they are disappointed forsooth in the character of the Greeks, disgusted at their ingratitude, and ex-

asperated at their not following the pathways by which *they* became eminent in wisdom! The chances of war too despoil them of a few dollars, and fortune lours a little upon the Greek cause!—Therefore they decamp, prudently covering their retreat with a heavy fire of abuse, and opening from the first secure post a battery of unqualified malediction!—I will not object cowardice to a desertion of this sort; it may be, or not. But according to my way of thinking, there is very little decency or good sense in that person who will rush hot-headed among a people who, whatever they are, attempted not to impose—attempted not to seduce him by the assumption of a plausible but fallacious exterior—and then, because they fall short of his extravagant expectations, or laugh at his inflated pretensions, leaves them to sputter forth disgust and execration! He may have good reasons for relinquishing an ill-advised undertaking, but he can have none for accompanying it with obloquy: silence would become him better; shame at his own credulity, or sorrow for the exhibition of an uncontrolled and wayward vanity!

CHAPTER XIV.

MONDAY, 18*th July*.—Arrived at Spetzia toward evening. A letter from Colocotroni states that a skirmish between the two armies took place on Wednesday last, in which a few Turks (about fifteen) were killed. He looked for a general action taking place the next day; and observes, that his men begin to dread the regular troops of the Egyptians considerably less, and to be more confident in their own strength. To this intelligence is added other of great importance. Topal Pacha, admiral of the fleet now before Missolonghi, irritated at the want of courage or capacity in his captains, ordered six of them to be bastinadoed. One, an Albanian, commanding a large frigate with seven hundred Albanian soldiers on board, returned to his ship, and in a paroxysm of fury fired his pistol into the powder magazine, and blew up the frigate. This happened at Navarin a few

days ago. We passed the Turkish fleet, it will be remembered, off Zante, consisting of eight frigates and other vessels of different sizes. The frigates ought to have amounted to *nine*; and it was just preceding this rencontre that the explosion took place.

Two Greek schooners have captured an Austrian vessel carrying ten guns and thirty men, under the following circumstances:—they came up with her in the morning, and sent two boats to examine her cargo and papers. The Greek captain and a few of his men went on deck, and were desired by the Austrian to go below; they refused, and were immediately fired at. The Greeks left in the boats, on hearing the report of musketry, instantly hastened to the assistance of their countrymen, and took the vessel, with the loss of three men killed and seven wounded. They have, moreover, made prize of a vessel belonging to Cerigo, which was employed by the Turks to convey intelligence between Navarin and Gandia. To crown all, the renegade Frenchman, Suleyman Bey, is severely wounded, and supposed to be dead. As a counterpoise to this, twenty-two sail of the Egyptian fleet have been dispatched to

Alexandria for more troops, and two thousand Albanians have advanced from Modon to Tripolitza, at a short distance from which they remain for the present, being intercepted by a body of Greeks, and unable to unite themselves with Ibrahim.

The fleet in Spetzia at this time amounts nearly to fifty sail. Here they have continued during our absence, but talk of sailing to Missolonghi the day after to-morrow. Some hesitation has arisen, in consequence of a wish expressed by certain captains to leave a number of vessels behind, for the purpose of carrying off their wives and families, should the Turks make an attack upon the island. But the appearance of our three frigates (Cambrian, Seringapatam, and Sybille) have quieted their apprehensions, since they are assured that no massacre can take place whilst they are on the station.

Tuesday, 19*th July*.—Sailed for Hydra this morning at dawn. Mavrocordato is here, and came on board soon after our arrival, with the admiral Miaoulis and Tombasi. Thirty-six of the fleet sail to-morrow for Missolonghi, and twenty more for Alexandria, to intercept

the Turks on their return. Miaoulis commands the latter with four fire-ships. Ten are destined to act against the Missolonghi fleet, under the direction of Canaris. I had very fortunately an opportunity of seeing this celebrated man, who had but just arrived at Hydra from Ægina. There is an expression of great mildness and benevolence in his countenance, but it would not at all convey an idea of the Greek. His nose is small, almost *camoysed*, although his eye is good: he has a deeply embrowned complexion, and his stature is low; but he is well made. We had scarcely time to shake hands with him before we were under the necessity of returning on board, a signal gun having been fired and a boat sent for us. This was the more vexatious as we were just stepping into a caique, accompanied by the son of Miaoulis, to examine a *brulot*—a thing which I have long desired to see..

Anchored all night off Spetzia.

Wednesday, 20th July.—Arrived at Napoli. There is no further news from the army. Of the thousand reports which are floating about us, like the thread of the gossamer on a summer's morning, that which appears the most tangible

and the most dwelt upon is the election of a *king*. A proclamation requiring the community at large to weigh the expediency of this great change has already been forwarded to the respective states. The islanders wish for a monarchy, the Moreotes for a republic. The advocates for the former appear to have fixed upon the *Duke of Orleans*, and the Duke is said to be favourably inclined to the proposal. When the rumour first reached us it certainly struck me as well as others in a most ludicrous point of view. However, it gains ground, and I have reason to think that the government design to *try* at least how far "my lord of Orleans" will be consenting to their desires. That a monarchy would be best fitted to their condition there is no doubt, but the question is, *who* must be the person? Surely not a Frenchman! I have accidentally met in Napoli with a single copy of a French work, published by a Greek in 1824, and entitled "*Essai sur les Panarcotes*," full of curious and interesting matter, which I intend to bring again before the notice of the reader. But on the particular subject in question there are some observations which appear to me worthy of translation, prin-

cipally as coming from an enlightened Greek, and as addressed to the Greek nation.

" My opinion is confirmed relative to the establishment of an hereditary monarchy, because I see the moral impossibility of establishing a republic in Greece—even a federative republic. If one considered its topographical situation alone, there is no question but that the last-mentioned mode of government would be preferable to all other. But it is necessary to consider the people for whom governments are established, not the places; and (I speak it with sincerity) a republic could not be maintained in Greece. It would be from its very commencement a prey to intestine commotions.

" As to a democratic government, it must not be mentioned. A philosopher has said—' that if he had a nation of gods, he would govern it by a democracy :' but a government so perfect is not fit for mankind. Greece is not peopled with gods.

" I forbear to advance an opinion upon the government of an aristocracy, because on casting a scrutinizing glance over Greece I see no where the elementary principles of this kind of government.

" But in forming wishes for the establishment of an hereditary monarchy in Greece, I mean not to deprive my fellow-countrymen of the benefits of liberty. And as that is never seated on the steps of an absolute throne, I wish that this monarchy be tempered, as in France, by guardian institutions, which defend the people against themselves, against the invasions of power and the tyranny of the great. I would have the prince reign with splendour, supported by that authority which forms the glory and happiness of a people; but he should rest his power on fundamental laws, which shelter the sceptre and the subject equally from revolutions—plagues, with which divine indignation sometimes afflicts the inhabitants of both worlds, for the example of people and kings.

" The Greeks have the lessons of history for their instruction; and the past ought not to be lost upon them. Let them examine it, but let them not lose sight of an important truth—that the aspect of Europe is not now as it was formerly: that if they wish to walk along with other nations they must adopt an European policy. Above all, let them not be

hurried away by the magic of memory, nor by that self-love which invariably attends glorious achievements and unexpected triumphs.

"If wisdom does not consolidate their work, it will fall away as those empires have fallen which had victory only for an adviser. Let them fear, lest after subduing their enemies from without, they should have to turn their own arms against themselves. Intestine divisions, whatever be their object, are destructive and consuming: they prepare and perfect the slavery of nations."

These observations are very sensible; and a book thus written must have considerable claims to public attention. It really contains much that is useful; and its authenticity I have no reason to question. I hope to find an opportunity to make it better known.

Thursday, 21st July.—We had Count di Gamba on board to-day, with a whole host of diplomatists. The Count is a well-looking man, with a full face and fair complexion, mustachios, and long auburn hair hanging upon his shoulders. A further loan of forty thousand pounds has just arrived from Eng-

land in a merchant-ship: the senate are therefore in full consultation and in high spirits.

The *cavalry officer*, once before mentioned, is very *sick*, his wife is also sick, and both are anxious to cut their cables and run. The gentleman anathematizes right lustily the whole Greek committee who sent him and his helpmate hither. I wonder if the committee selected the *lady* as well as the chieftain; and whether they approved of the pattern of his *spurs*. They were singularly well chosen, which makes it probable!

This evening I received from Tombasi a series of the Hydra Gazettes from their commencement. He heard that I was enquiring after them, and sent his own private collection in consequence.

Friday, 22d July.—The Cambrian sent boats to *the Mills* (Moulins) to take in water, for it flows here in considerable quantities. I made use of the opportunity to visit the field of battle. It was fought principally in an orange-grove close by. Several dead horses were lying there still, in a most loathsome state of putrefaction; and more revolting than all, the headless carcase of a man was stretched at full

length by the public way. The fleshy part of the calf and thigh had been torn, apparently by dogs! Whether or not this man was killed in the action some have thought doubtful. It has been asserted that he was an Arab prisoner, whom the Greeks put to death in consequence of his refusing to work: but whatever he was, it is barbarous enough to suffer a human corse to rot before the public eye, and feed the ravenous maws of dogs and ravens!—I rode from hence to Argos. The road exhibited no signs of the devastations of war: the corn and vines were standing, and the latter promised an abundant supply of fruit. They were in the act of cutting the corn. Argos, however, is completely depopulated. We could scarcely find a single human being; and every house was blackened by fire. The fruit-trees in the town had been entirely stripped, excepting indeed a few limes and unripe pomegranates. We had the greatest difficulty to procure even water, after the hot and fatiguing ride which the steeds of these countries always occasion.

After an arduous search, I found, at last, the amphitheatre of Argos, situated just at the back of the before-mentioned temple of Apollo,

and a little way from the oracular shrine. It is no wonder that the eye does not immediately detect it. The seats were cut from the solid rock, and the edges are just seen projecting above the pieces of broken stone which cover the whole circuit. It appears, in fact, to be nothing more than the side of the mountain, until narrowly inspected.

Saturday, 23d July. — I attempted, this morning, without success, to bargain for an alabaster bass-relief, found at no great distance from Argos, while breaking the earth to lay the foundation of a church. It represents a procession of four women to a shrine of some god, (apparently Æsculapius,) who is seated on an altar, with a mural crown upon his head. The right hand is extended, and the neck and head of a serpent appear creeping through it. The god is bearded. Opposite to him, upon the nearer end of the altar, is the figure of a woman seated. In the foreground to the left, are three boys; one of whom conducts a hog, no doubt for the purpose of sacrifice. On the corner to the right, is another small figure, faintly sketched. A serpent extended is sculptured upon the altar.—The whole is beautifully

executed, and I had set my heart on securing it; but the owner was absent, and there was no one else at hand.

On my return, I met with Count di Gamba, from whom I had the following intelligence: Three days ago, Ipsilanti made an attack upon Tripolitza, with considerable success. The Turks lost an hundred men, *killed*, (amongst whom is one of their captains); and twenty were last night brought prisoners into Napoli. Ibrahim Pacha has now evacuated Tripolitza, leaving from two to three thousand men within its walls. His Albanians have deserted him, in consequence, as is said, of not receiving sufficient pay. Ibrahim endeavoured to make good his retreat to Patras; but Ipsilanti, with seven hundred picked men, has, at this moment, intercepted him in a narrow defile, called *Garratra*. He has chosen a most advantageous post; and Ibrahim is unable to make a further advance. In the mean time, a letter from Colocotroni, this morning, desires a reinforcement; and three thousand soldiers march from Napoli to-morrow. From ten to twelve thousand Roumeliotes are also said to be on their way to join the Greek forces.

Three thousand more are said to be sent from Corinth: and *still* it is believed, that Ibrahim will be cut off. The reason that has been assigned for the descent of the latter, is, the hope which he entertained of being able to purchase the Greek chiefs to his interest: the consequence is exceedingly happy, and may prove that Greeks are not so corruptible as many are disposed to believe.

We also hear, that the Turks have made an attack upon Missolonghi, and have been repulsed with the loss of two thousand men. This, if true, is a very glorious occurrence; but official dispatches have not yet been received.

Sunday, 24th July.—Sailed from Napoli last evening, and anchored at Spetzia this morning. Canaris is here, and was on board the Cambrian for some hours. He sails in two or three days for Alexandria. Miaoulis, it now appears, goes to Missolonghi.

Monday, 25th July.—Hydra. A piracy, committed near this place upon the persons of some English artists on their way from Athens, a few days ago. has occasioned a good deal of bustle here. The loss amounts to five hundred

dollars, according to their statement. Another piracy has been committed upon an Ionian merchantman; and the perpetrators are said to belong to Hydra; several of them to be even now in the town. An officer was sent on shore to demand redress, and I accompanied him. The primates (the chief of whom is a brother of Condouriotti, the president; a singularly homely-looking man, with an eye bound up,) expressed great sorrow at the occurrence of disorders which were totally beyond their control; and great willingness to remedy the evil as far as they possessed the power.

Mr. Masson, who is still here, and as enthusiastic as ever in the cause to which he has devoted himself (though wanting, perhaps, power equal to the attainment of his generous object) seems rather depressed at the various circumstances which are continually involving the primates in fresh perplexity. He laments also their want of unanimity, and the petty jealousies and distrusts with which they are continually embroiling one another. Some begin to despair of the result of the contest, and wish to save themselves and their remaining property: others, who have more confidence,

and, I think, more judgment, seem desirous of holding out, at least whilst they have arms in their hands, and more resources than they ever possessed before. The senate have expressed a wish to know, if, in case of the worst, the English government would take them under its protection, with the same arrangement by which the Ionian isles are held: but a step of this kind is palpably out of the question. To this the other powers of Europe would be decidedly hostile. The lord high commissioner of the Ionian islands would, no doubt, give them shelter, should they be reduced to the necessity of expatriating themselves, (upon which they are fully determined, rather than submit again to the Turkish yoke!) and England would, in all probability, protect and incorporate the exiles with her Ionian subjects. How far this is feasible, remains for future consideration. In the mean time, the cause will not be lost, *except by their own want of energy and union.* A finer race of men, in appearance, cannot exist under the sun. They seem made for warriors! Athletic, active, and enduring, they are deficient in nothing but an eye that can look unmoved on

danger, and an imagination less lively and amplifying. They are accustomed, from the pure force of fancy, to exaggerate their difficulties; and represent to themselves evils which, like those in the enchanted forest of Tasso, require but to be met, to disappear! Every man in Colocotroni's army is *physically* able to cope with two of his enemies. He has more quickness of intellect, as well as superior local knowledge. Between the uneducated Turk * and Greek there is no comparison; but the latter fights for *liberty*, which years of debilitating slavery have made him almost unable to comprehend: while the other fights with the Koran in one hand, and regular pay in the other; to say nothing of the bowstring and ataghan, should he dispute the will of his master. The chief motive which urges the Greek into the field, is a deep uncontrolled hatred of the Turks; a hatred which has been gathering strength as the tide of time rolled on, and now sweeps along with it humanity and reason. Hence, his barbarities—hence, the crimes that blacken him in the eyes of

* Under this term I include the Egyptians, &c.

Europe. But these failings will be removed, and can only be removed, when he again possesses his paternal home in peace. They originated in the treatment which he has so long experienced; and he sheds the blood, for which he believes, in like circumstances, his own would be poured forth. If it be asked, why, possessing impulses like these, he shrinks in the day of battle, and then only fails in the exhibition of qualities which his appearance promises, and his desires might be expected to stimulate? I answer, that he wants confidence in himself and in his chief. He has left behind him a home which, in his absence, may be laid desolate; and a family without protection, who may, ere long, be polluted and butchered, or carried off and enslaved. His previous habits have made him restless and turbulent; he finds his condition unimproved by the war; he feels that it has altered for the worse. The military tactics of the Egyptian troops, opposed to his own ignorance, are supposed to be invincible; he suspects those above him of bartering away his life,—at all events, of profiting by the sacrifices he must make. This naturally leads to a desire of

preserving himself at all risks; and of fighting, if fight he must, when it can be done with safety. Thus, opportunities of annihilating the enemy are neglected; thus arise discordant councils; the views of one baffled by another—jealous of his proceedings, or of his power; and, in short, thus may be derived that want of union and decision which are the crying evils of the Greek Revolution. Fears and suspicions are readily communicated; where men are unable to give confidence, they are engendered by a very shadow. Enmities spring forth almost imperceptibly; then good advice is thwarted, merely because proposed by a particular individual; and pride leads another to enforce pernicious counsel, purely because it has been proved to be bad. All this, and very much more, may arise without any design of treachery on the part of the actors; but people so circumstanced have to learn a hard lesson;—the relinquishment of their own advantage in the prosecution of a common cause, and the permitting of one who but yesterday was an equal, perhaps an inferior, to be suddenly elevated above them to-day, when the common interest demands it.

A scheme has been started (originating, I believe, with some military man) of giving *letters of marque* to any European vessel that may be fitted out to cruise against the Turks. The Greek government have readily sanctioned it, and dispatched proposals to England. The idea is a very happy one, and European adventurers would not fail to secure to themselves a large emolument. The Turkish ships are of beautiful structure, and fitted out with every requisite of the first description; but they are manned to such an excess that their efforts are essentially obstructed; and this, added to an extraordinary deficiency of skill in using their guns, makes their capture by well-manned privateers an object of little danger or difficulty.

Miaoulis, who has not yet sailed, (why, I can hardly conjecture, except that the fleet is not ready for sea, as it *ought to have been,)* sent a person with me to examine a fire-ship. The hold is partitioned off into small stalls, within each of which stands a barrel of gunpowder, containing about thirty okes*; on each side a prickly plant, called in Greek

* An *oke* is 2¾ lbs.

Thymaria, a species of thyme, which kindles readily, is deposited. The bottom of the barrel has a hole communicating with trains carried into various parts of the vessel: and a composition, consisting of turpentine, salt-petre, rosin, and other materials that ignite quickly, is rubbed all over the hold, the casks intended to receive the gunpowder, and every other part that is likely to facilitate the progress of the fire. The decks and outer parts of the vessel are pitched and painted copiously, and grappling-irons are concealed in the rigging. The quantity of gunpowder used in a single brulot amounts to two thousand okes, or five thousand five hundred pounds, and it is fired in about forty places at once. They man it with from twenty to twenty-five men, according to the size. The one I saw was of the largest, and had been an Austrian merchantman taken with a cargo of Turkish ammunition.

Tuesday, 26th July.—We have intelligence this morning that the Turks have been beaten in attempting to force the pass where the Greeks had posted themselves. The particulars are these:—Colocotroni was attacked by the Turks, and worsted; he then took refuge in a

house, and there defended himself obstinately until Ipsilanti came up to his assistance; the latter fell upon the Turkish troops with great gallantry, and finally drove them back, having captured thirty Arabs. In the mean time, Ibrahim Pacha, who had been beyond the Greek lines, returned, and finding what had passed, put to death three hundred Greeks whom he had taken!

The Gannet, Captain Brace, arrived here this evening from Malta.

Wednesday, 27th July.—The boats of the Cambrian and Naiad have, for two nights past, been lying off the harbour of Hydra, to intercept all misticos and caiques that should put out. The robbery of the persons before alluded to has created a world of bustle; and we know not when it may be concluded. Last evening one of the Naiad's boats shot two Greeks and wounded four others in the attempt to escape. They hailed the boat, and desired her to bring to: on her disregarding the order, a musket was fired over the masts, then a second through the sail, and afterwards a great gun fixed at the bow of the boat. All this proving ineffectual, a volley of grape was discharged, which

had the effect above related. The obstinacy of the boatmen proved their guilt; had they been innocent they would have complied with the request; for our boatmen had blockaded the port all that day and the preceding evening, and it was impossible to mistake them or their purpose. To-day it is clear that they were part of the men we were in quest of. The house of a notorious villain in Hydra resounded with the funeral clamors so common upon the decease of a Greek; and it appears further, that the property in the boat had been stolen from the town.

The primates are in the utmost trouble: they are apprehensive of being murdered by the rabble, and of arousing a civil war. The islanders are divided into clans, and they look upon it as a solemn religious duty to revenge the death of their connexions; thus, in attempting the punishment of one man, there is a long line of rancorous hostility commenced, whose end it is impossible to foresee. They have not the shadow of a police: insomuch that the murderer of the father of *the President of Greece*, Condouriotti, walks the streets of Hydra at this very day without the smallest

molestation! And if he had been taken off, either by fair means or by foul, those connected with him, however distantly, would have felt bound to avenge him; nay, though they had detested his character and been glad at his decease! In this state of things it is easy to understand the perplexities of the primates. We have threatened to burn their caiques if the pirates be not given up; and have been lying off the town prepared, as if for battering the walls and the fleet. Now had either of these things happened, those who were sufferers would, in the frenzy of the moment, have murdered the pirates, or those they suspected of being such, as the origin of their misfortunes. Then the relatives of the dead would have retaliated, not only upon the immediate authors of the bloodshed, but upon the primates, in the belief that they had encouraged our proceedings. I wish to remark here, that however barbarous and blood-thirsty the Greeks may be in periods of temporary insanity—(like that of the Turkish massacre) yet they are very far from being so generally. They use their prisoners with great kindness, as I have ascertained from several unquestionable witnesses:

the Turkish women have in many instances become so attached as to refuse to leave them; and an Arab prisoner, a boy, brought on board the Cambrian to-day, under fear of the popular insurrection, burst into tears of regret on being questioned relative to his late master in Hydra. In Napoli, I know for a fact, that the Turkish prisoners have endeavoured to awaken the charity of those who passed by telling them that they were *Turks*; which proves that they had experienced its happy effect, otherwise more available terms would have been used.

The primates have exerted themselves as much as possible. They have issued orders to the little garrisons scattered over the island to send to Hydra whomsoever they detect. One of the robbers they have in possession, as we hear; and the rest they promise in the morning. On the conclusion of this most unpleasant business we sail. In the mean time, all the English residents have taken refuge on board the Cambrian; amongst them are the *robbed*—as queer a set of beings as I ever beheld!

Of the affair at Missolonghi, we are informed,

that the Turkish army, on the appearance of their fleet, made an attack upon the town, having a deep ditch which surrounds it to pass. Many were drowned, but some had reached the ramparts, when the Greeks made a well-timed and effective sortie, drove back their enemies, of whom they destroyed two thousand, with the loss of between two and three hundred men.

Thursday, 28th July.—The victory at Missolonghi has been confirmed to-day, with the additional information that a reinforcement of five thousand Albanians and Suliotes has arrived to the assistance of the Greeks. The Turks are now between two fires. From Tripolitza the news is equally gratifying: Ibrahim Pacha, who had begun to find his quarters none of the most comfortable, attempted by several passages to force his way to Patras; but Colocotroni and Ipsilanti laid an ambuscade, fell upon him, and cut off seven hundred men, besides taking many prisoners. Ibrahim was driven back, and once more occupies Tripolitza.

Friday, 29th July.—To-night has terminated the vexatious matter of the robbery.

The august personages who have been the cause of all this uproar are

> "A crew of patches, rude mechanicals,
> That work for bread upon Athenian stalls."

And who, had they but possessed common foresight and common resolution, would have avoided the situation into which their own folly precipitated them. According to the confession of one of the party, they embarked from Athens *(seven in number!)* in a caique, against which they had been previously warned, without arms, and with a bag of dollars jutting from their small-clothes; no doubt to the great delectation of the future robber! Without arms, (except their truculent mustachios may be so termed!) of course they could make no resistance; and it seems to me that they designedly left behind them the *double-barrelled guns*, which I understand they brought as far as Hydra, with the courteous intention of giving as little trouble as may be to their despoilers. One of them,

> "The shallowest thick-skin of that barren sort,"

who, to the rest of his travelling equipage, has

added the title of *colonel*, while his companions were detailing their losses to Captain Hamilton, broke in upon the discourse, and with a face to which nature and coxcomical effrontery had done their worst, solemnly *gave his word* that the villains had deprived him of a silk pocket-handkerchief, *value fourteen shillings, and very little worse for wear!* On the strength of this rueful statement, he clamors loudly for the assistance of a British man-of-war; and being introduced on board, struts over the quarter-deck with the air of a lord—quite *cock-a-hoop* at the loss by which he has contrived to make a gain. But—the viper! warmed with the good cheer of the Cambrian, he had the insolence and the vanity to assert that it was the "*duty*" of a man-of-war to feed his cormorant appetite; and that all the inconvenience to which his unseemly presence put our kind-hearted commodore, was nothing more than obligatory upon him toward a British subject! What things our country spawns! They have read the history of Jack the Giant Queller, and the surprising Adventures of Four London Apprentices, who were all made kings and married to princesses, and hither they

come "*a colonelling*," with the self-same lofty pretensions! Vagabonds!—But I have done:

"Satire or sense, alas! can Sporus feel?"

One person states his loss at 40*l.*: this the primates have paid back, and the hardship on them is certainly extreme. However, there appears no alternative: but that *four British men-of-war* should be employed morning and night upon this paltry affair, does, I must confess, excite my spleen to the utmost. And if Captain Hamilton had thought it right to fire upon the town—to think of the blood that would have been spilt, and the irreparable injury that Greece must have endured at this most critical period, makes one's indignation boil almost beyond all bounds! The money already paid by the primates, they declared, was nothing in comparison with what they would be called upon to pay. The boats we detained were loaded with fruit, fish, and other perishable articles; they formed the sole property of their miserable owners, and they will therefore naturally look to the primates for reparation. The primates then will have to still the murmurs of some, and to re-

compense the services of others, who were instrumental in the capture of the pirates *, happy if no civil commotion exhausts the blood and property destined for the cause of their country. One thing is quite evident; to none but to Englishmen would they have submitted thus quietly; perhaps to no Englishman but Captain Hamilton! The Austrians would have been fired on immediately; and when it is known that the Greeks had from forty to fifty armed vessels in their harbour, and upwards of five thousand men in the town capable of bearing arms, with a battery of fifty† guns —some applause may be bestowed for their forbearance. But the English are esteemed (I speak my full and decided conviction!) far beyond any other nation; and Captain Hamilton is regarded as a sort of *guardian angel*, whose benevolence is as unbounded as his power! However, he has never hesitated imposing a mulct proportioned to their offences; he has never once favoured them at the expence of justice, or when it interfered with the course of duty. He stands well both with

* We received two on board; two more were shot.

† They are able to mount a hundred.

Turks and Greeks—Jews and Gentiles; and when he shall be removed from the Archipelago, it strikes me that his loss will be felt and lamented by more parties than one; and it will be more than his successor, whoever he may be, will immediately have the power to replace!

Saturday, 30th July.—Tricoupi arrived here from Napoli. He brought a singular document with him—a *protest* against an act of the Greek government, signed by General Roche and Mr. Washington—*the* Mr. Washington whom I before mentioned; who, without the *smallest* title to it, has put himself forward as the representative of the Greek Committee in America. The document is too curious to be withheld, and I annex it *verbatim* at foot.

" Messieurs les Membres du Pouvoir Exécutif du Gouvernement Provisoire de la Grèce.

" Les Soussignés Députés des Philellènes de France, et des états unis de l'Amérique, ont eu connoissance que des individus dans leur simple qualité de citoyens Grecs, se sont permis de se mettre à la tête d'une faction et

contre les institutions de leur pays ont signé et fait circuler une déclaration extrémement injurieuse au caractère de leur Nation et de leur Gouvernement qui ont toujours montré l'interêt le plus vif pour la prosperité et l' indépendance de la Grèce."

" Les soussignés savent que le senat et le corps Exécutif dans leur séances du 22 de ce mois, ont décreté de demander des secours au Gouvernement des isles Ioniennes pour la conservation de leur liberté politique menacée par l' invasion d' Ibraim Pacha.

" Quoiqu'il ait été bien penible aux soussignés de voir le peu de confiance que le senat Grec dans cette circonstance si grave a mis dans les Nations Française et Americaine, ils respectèrent néanmoins ses décisions et tout autre qui aurait été faite par les voies légales, et d' après la constitution de l'Etat.

" Mais ils voyent avec douleur que le senat, au lieu d' exécuter son decrêt, n'employe pas les moyens de rigueur qui sont en son pouvoir, pour ramener à l'ordre des individus Grecs qui osent se mettre au-dessus des loix, et cherchent de troubler le système politique établi dans la Grèce; en consequence ils croyent de leur de-

voir de prévénir le Gouvernement Grec de cet attentat illégal, qui blesse le caractère de deux nations qui ont pris le plus vif interêt à son indépendance, et ne peut que nuire par la suite à ses interêts.

" Le Gouvernement Grec doit connoître le danger qu'il court en permettant des délibérations de cette nature qui sont dictées par l'esprit d'anarchie, et contre lequel nous protestons formellement.

". Les soussignés prient le pouvoir exécutif de vouloir bien leur donner les explications les plus claires et positives sur un objet si important; et ils attendent avec impatience une prompte réponse pour en informer leur comité respectif, et enfin de regler leur conduite dans cette circonstance.

" Les soussignés prient Messieurs les Membres du Pouvoir exécutif d'agréer les sentimens de la plus haute consideration.

(Signed) " LE GEN. W. ROCHE,
" W. TORINGHEUIT WASHINGTON."

" Nauplie le 28 Juillet, 1825."

The imbecillity of this most extraordinary paper, to say nothing of its bad French, hardly

calls for a remark. Yet one cannot help wondering at the excessive absurdity which impels two private individuals, or even the delegates of a committee, to make such a protest as this! What right can any committee have to *interfere* in a nation's councils? and what confidence, (authorized by what conduct on their own part, or on that of their respective countries,) did these two gentlemen intend to demand when they indited this precious document? But that which places it on the very pinnacle of exuberant folly, is its formal protest against a government, because it does not adopt such coercive measures as the protesters imagine suitable; *because* this is not done, "THEREFORE" they think it their duty to prevent "that illegal outrage of the Greek government which wounds the character of two nations that have taken the most lively interest in its independence!" What illegal outrage? They *complain*, that the government does nothing—not even that which it has the power to do! Its deliberations, they say, are dictated by a spirit of anarchy; and *although they respect its decisions, yet they think it their duty to oppose them!*

Let those who will, reduce into sense such a mass of *galimatias;* and then let them go in pursuit of the philosopher's stone! If they succeed in reconciling the one to reason, they will have no difficulty in accomplishing the visionary object of the other!

The Greek government have very properly replied, that " M. Washington n'est pas un deputé d'un aucun comité ; il n'est qu'un simple particulier." And, truth to say, M. Washington, who is but a very young man, has every claim to the epithet of *simple;* of *that* let no one defraud him.

To the charge, that certain individuals in their character of Greek citizens, have put themselves at the head of a faction, and signed and circulated the declaration of which the document complains, the government triumphantly reply, " Ce n'est pas des individus. Ce sont tous les deputés de la Grèce, tous les primats, toute la marine, tout l'armie—c'est à dire, toute la nation entière, qui a signé le document par le quel elle remet *le depôt sacré de sa liberté, son indépendance nationalle, et son existence politique* sous *la protection* de *Sa Majesté Britannique.*

" La Grèce par cet *act* ne se plaint d'aucun gouvernement; elle se plaint *formellement* contre certains agens de quelques puissances Europiennes, qui en mepris de la neutralité proclamée de la part de leur gouvernement aux Congrès de Vironne et Leiback, ont tenu une conduite bien nuisible aux interêts les plus chers de la nation Grèque, et ont taché de donner une autre forme à leur gouvernement; et *personne ne connait cela mieux que le General Roche.*"

This *sacred deposit*, I trust Great Britain will not be necessitated to refuse. The resuscitation of Greece to moral and political liberty, will be a bright period in her annals,—a glorious testimony of her benevolence, and of her power. She will rebuild the fallen temples of Greece on more stable foundations; she will draw forth her latent energies—exalt her depressed and degraded form into natural and graceful proportions. She will provide education for her youth, and repress the turbulent ebullitions of an uncontrolled imagination. While she teaches her the refinement of civilized Europe, she will guard her against the vices which a fruitful soil is calculated to en-

gender, and which civilization is but too likely to superinduce. She will extend her commerce, augment her navy, and discipline her sons in war; not for conquest and aggrandizement, but for self-defence; and, what is scarcely of less moment, self-respect! Britain only can, with effect, make her "wildernesses blossom like the rose;" can throw over her present corse-like appearance, a veil of undying flowers. And this Britain *will* do, sooner or later; or I am carried upon the wings of hope,

> "That wanton bird which sings
> As soon as fledged,"—

too far out of the bounds of discretion. Be this as it may, my most ardent wishes are consecrated to the accomplishment; my most heartfelt desires all tend thitherward. It is not that I believe Greece unable of herself to recover independence; it is not that I consider an extraneous force wanting to the promotion of her freedom: but it is, that I foresee long years of variable fortune before she can march step for step in European civilization. I discover a wearisome and lacerating pathway, by which her foot must scale the lofty steep of

western refinement. As yet, with respect to the present state of things, she is in her cradle; she requires, therefore, a maternal hand to administer to her wants,—a paternal arm to chasten her offences, and to reward her advances in virtue. The citizens of Greece are nearly all upon an equality: they are, or will be, all struggling to get uppermost, and in the scuffle her wounds may be reopened, and her liberty for ever lost. To prevent this, she must have a power over her, that, without infringing the rights of freemen, may exercise an undisputed control:—a power that is sufficient to remedy evils the moment they occur, and, at the same time, turn the buoyant and elastic faculties of the people into their proper channel. This, for a thousand reasons, Britain is best able to effect; and this, I pray, that she may do instantly. A war, attended with horrors such as the present has witnessed, cannot be too frequently deprecated: and humanity, as well as policy, calls for its speedy abolition. To Britain the eyes and the hearts of all Greece are now turned. They learn from the system pursued in the Ionian isles, which they have had the best means of investigating, how far

their present condition will be bettered, and their future prospects brightened; and this is, in itself, an unanswerable argument against those who have long been impugning the principles, and maligning the conduct of that government! Let our country then be generous toward the Greeks, while it acts beneficially toward itself. Let it hasten to sheath the sword, and facilitate the return of peace. Let it accept the honourable proposals which the Greeks, in despite of a variety of political intriguants, have unanimously offered; and at once openly and cordially combine,

"To work the waving plume into a fan."

CHAPTER XV.

MONDAY, 1*st August*.—Sailed from Hydra (Garden-Bay) for Smyrna.

Tuesday, 2d August.—We had, this morning, a glimpse of the Acropolis of Athens; but the mist was too thick to admit our seeing it distinctly.

About three o'clock, the wind blowing contrary, we anchored under Cape Colonna. I walked again to the temple, where the memorable "Bellona Austriaca" stands in uneffaceable infamy. *Another column has been thrown down*. Thirteen now only remain; when we were last here, there were fourteen *. That which is deficient stood on the north side. Words are inadequate to express my contempt for these wanton spoliators of antiquity—these

* See Vol. I. page 115.

savage Goths; who, in an age remarkable for its love of literature, and of the fine arts, possess neither taste enough to comprehend their value—feeling enough to be moved at the irreparable overthrow of all that is grand and magnificent—nor good sense enough to withhold their malicious operations from that which others are able to admire and to profit by! Ignorance, seconded by the love of opposition, carries away not a few: a childish buoyancy of spirits, a riotous heedlessness of consequences, or a passion for a foolish frolic, stimulate others. These motives, disgraceful as they are, some do not scruple to confess; and were such persons to be excluded altogether from the pale of civilized society, until they should learn better to respect its feelings, and demean themselves with a propriety becoming the station they hold in it, happy would it be for themselves, and for the world!

Weighed anchor at nine o'clock: the wind nearly fair.

Wednesday, 3d August.—Contrary winds took us from our course, and induced us to anchor off Tino. I went on shore, but found very little to gratify curiosity. The surf ran

high, and every individual in the boat was nearly wet through. The town of Tino, externally, very much resembles other Greek towns; the streets are narrow and dirty, but the houses are whitewashed, within and without. Some of the better sort are painted in a rough style, and adorned with a profusion of mirrors. A large chandelier commonly hangs from the roof. The inhabitants principally adopt the Latin ritual. At one of the houses which we visited, was the Greek archbishop, habited in a coarse garment, which, I would fain hope, evidenced his humility; but the probability is, that it only argued his *poverty*. The dress of the women is that of Smyrna, which indeed, with a few exceptions, (as at Mycone, and there it is not general,) very much prevails in the islands. The English consul, who was no longer in his *general's uniform*, and really looked much less ridiculous, presented us to his five fair daughters and their mother; who were infinitely amused on my asking after an artist that could sketch for me the short kilted dress of the *women of Mycone!* The dome re-echoed with their cachinnation!

Thursday, 4th August.—Made sail.

Friday, 5th August.—Passed the town of Scio a little before noon. We had flattered ourselves with the hope of landing: but we reckoned without our host. The country here is extremely beautiful: the whole shore being covered with olive and other fruit-trees, in the midst of which the houses of the inhabitants arise. A mountain is behind. A few years ago, and this fair scene ran with Grecian blood!

Saturday, 6th August.—Early this morning the Cambrian arrived again at Smyrna.

Sunday, 7th August.—We were awakened during the last night by the cry of *fire*. With his usual alacrity, Captain Hamilton ordered the boats to be manned, and went himself to the place from whence the alarm arose. We discerned from the ship a large volume of flame bursting from the town of Smyrna, and which seemed at every instant to gain further ground. By the timely exertion, however, of two water engines, belonging to the English consulate, and chiefly by pulling down the adjoining houses, the fire was extinguished without any very considerable damage. A woman and child were killed; the first suffocated with dust

and smoke, and the latter burnt. The houses were occupied by the lowest order of poor Greeks; and to the carelessness of one of these the fire was owing. The wooden materials with which houses are built in the east, and their extreme contiguousness, make circumstances of the above nature a dreadful evil.

Monday, 8th August.—I set out a *third* time in pursuit of a Greek artist; and through the indefatigable exertions of my friend Kyriacos, I at last succeeded. I found the gentleman a very "tun of man," seated upon a low bench, and enjoying the *fresco*. I was shewn into the artist's room, where, amongst a few performances in oil, was a face of the virgin, of considerable merit. Some portraits of Armenians, two or three of certain patriarchs of Constantinople, with one of the reigning sultan, composed the exhibition. On a lower floor, upon a sort of divan, or rather bed, sat a very young female, who, the preceding evening, or that very morning, had been delivered of a remarkably small infant, which then lay beside her, swathed up like a mummy. It is no ex-

aggeration to say, that her face was one of the loveliest that I ever beheld. It had all the tenderness and delicacy of European beauty, increased, no doubt, by the paleness and languor which her confinement had occasioned. A white cotton handkerchief enveloped the head, and was fastened under the chin. Across the brow was a thin band of gold, interwreathed with a flower or two. She regarded my observation very unconcernedly; and seemed not aware of any occasion for surprise or scrutiny. But so much was I struck with her unusually interesting appearance, that I bargained with the artist to give me her portrait amongst the costumes which he was to execute. This he instantly complied with; indeed I believe he set about it on the very same day.

Tuesday, 9th August.—Two Austrian men-of-war (one the "BELLONA!") arrived to-day from Napoli. We learn, through the pilots, that the Greeks have taken four Turkish transports before Missolonghi, and destroyed all the boats which the enemy had prepared for the attack of the place. Ships-of-war are obliged

to anchor at a distance: indeed the water is so shallow, that one of our *gigs*, a kind of boat constructed for speed, and for drawing the least possible quantity of water, can scarcely advance up to the town. The beleaguerers, therefore, intending to attack it by sea, had prepared boats for the purpose.

Ibrahim Pacha is still in Tripolitza; but the armies have had slight skirmishes, chiefly in favour of the Greeks. Colocotroni's son has just marched two thousand five hundred men from Napoli to the aid of his father, before Tripolitza.

Saturday Evening, 13th August. — The Sparrow-hawk, Captain Stewart, arrived from Athens. He brought with him *Mr. Trelawny, his wife, and a quick clever lad, the brother of Odysseus.* They were transferred to the Cambrian. Trelawny was in Albanian costume, with his arm in a sling. His wounds have been very severe; the carbine with which he was shot, was loaded with two balls. Both entered his back; one of them has not yet been extracted; the other passed along his neck and came out at his jaw, carrying away several teeth. It appears, that Mr. Whitcombe

was equally concerned with Fenton in the affair; in fact, he was the person whose balls took effect. Fenton and he were practising at a mark, and referred to Trelawny as an umpire in some pretended dispute relative to their superiority. At the moment that their intended victim turned his head to comply with the request, Fenton's piece flashed in the pan; upon which Whitcombe fired, and would have shared the same fate as his companion in crime, but for the intercession of Trelawny; who, in consequence of his extreme youth (he is scarcely twenty!) permitted him to escape. This affair, so far as it is related to us, tells favourably on the part of Trelawny; and in truth, that person requires some palliating circumstance to lighten the huge mass of obloquy which attaches itself to his public and private character. If one half of what is circulated respecting him be true, (of which I pretend not to judge,) his conscience must be callous indeed, if it remain at rest beneath it; his heart must be black as it is bold, and unfeeling as it is adventurous! *His wife* is a little girl, certainly of not more than *thirteen or fourteen years of age;* of pretty features, but

impressed with a deep shade of melancholy. What companionship can such a one have with a man of at least five and thirty? When Fenton's piece missed fire, he attempted to act the part of one unconcerned in the affair; and mixt with the frightened inmates, armed with a pistol and sword. The pistol he afterwards laid upon the table; Trelawny's wife took it away unperceived.

Sunday, 14th August.—Another fire broke out last night close to the English consulate. This is the third successive *Saturday night,* on which houses have been set on fire in Smyrna. It looks very much like *malice prepense.* Through the meritorious exertions of the ships of war no lives were lost.

A Jewish wedding took place the other day. I was not present, but have obtained a sketch of the bride in her nuptial dress, accompanied by the portrait of a child.

Mr. ———, a missionary for the conversion of the Jews, preached at the Consulate Chapel in the morning. This gentleman is said to be a man of sense; it is a pity that it should not be discoverable in the pulpit. Such a *farrago* I never heard; and I cannot but

suggest that *mustachios* are not exactly appropriate accompaniments to an English clergyman in the discharge of his sacred office. Appearances are not to be overlooked; and decency of exterior is essential to the well-being of every establishment, especially so in the administration of religious functions. Every thing there that is repulsive to common forms militates against the proposed end; generally it evidences levity of feeling, indifference to public opinion, and public censure: but of any such indifference I have not the slightest wish to accuse Mr. ———.

Monday, 15th August. — Set sail from Smyrna by day-light. We have abundance of passengers; amongst the rest is Mr. Strangways, (with whom I rejoice to renew my acquaintance,) just returned from an excursion to Constantinople, and Mr. Philips, Major Bacon, &c. &c.

Captain Hamilton's kindness, in accommodating all who ask it with a passage, has obtained the name of the "*passage ship*" for the Cambrian. Hospitality and good-nature are indeed the peculiar attributes of the captain; and passengers flock hither as "true

critics" are said to do to the noblest writers: that is, "they are carried merely by instinct; as a rat to the best cheese, or a wasp to the fairest fruit*." Verily, times and things and persons are marvellously altered since the memorable days of "Sir Anthonie of Guenara, Bishop of Mondonnedo." In that martial age it was "a privelege of the Gallie, that all persons which there do enter shall want the conversation of women, of deintie diet, of fragrant wines, of comfortable and sweete smelles, of cold waters, and suche other delicacies: all which things they shall have licence to desire, but no facultie to obteine." Further, (for I am desirous of adducing adequate reasons for our being thus inundated, and of demonstrating beyond question, that it is pleasanter to sail in the Cambrian than in "the Gallie")—further, it was a "privelege of the Gallie, that all manner of persons which there do enter, shall eate ordinarie bisket, with a condition, that it shall be covered with tapestrie of cobwebs, blacke, worme eaten, ratt eaten, and also wett either more or lesse. And also I advise" (adds

* Swift. "Tale of a Tub."

the worthy Sir Anthonie) "the squint-eyed passenger, that if he be not handsome, redily to take it out of the water: I bidde him to an evill feast."—*Item*, "It is a privelege of the Gallie, that no man at dinner time shall there demande water that is either cleare, colde, whoalsome, or sweete: but of force must content himselfe to drinke troubled, grosse, warme, and unsavourie water: yet it is no lesse true, that unto such as be *verie* nice, the capteine giveth licence, that all the while they shall be a drinking, with the one hande they may stoppe their nose, and with the other hande lift the pott unto their head."—A great privilege this, of which I once knew the advantage!

"It is a privelege of the Gallie, that the fleshe which they ordinarily shall eat, is joynts of goats, quarters of sheepe, salt beefe, and rustie bacon, not boyled, but parboilde; not rosted, but burnt; in such wise that being sett on table, it is lothesome to behold, harde as the divell to gnawe on; salt as bryne to feed on, and indigestible as a stone."

Item. "It is a privelege of the Gallie, that if any nice or curious passenger will needes washe any handkerchife, headkerchife, towell,

or any shirte for his owne person, that it be in no freshe or sweete, but salt water. And as the salt water doeth breede ytch and scurffe, so the capteine will give hym licence, and the boteswane will allow him place to rubbe his backe against the mast, or seek a rower to scratch the same."

Item. "It is a privelege of the Gallie, that all fleas that leape upon the hatches, and all lice that breede in seames, and all cheslockes that walk in chinkers, be common unto all men, and be divided and parted amongst all men; and if any person which is fine, and nice, shall appeale from this privelege, from thence-foorth I prophesie, that if he make but a secrete inquirie in his necke and bosome, and a privie searche in his breeches, he shall find more lice than money in his pursse."

Yet one other *item*, and I have done.—"It is a privelege of the Gallie, that all the rattes, and wezels therein, both dare and have libertie, when they may, without any penaltie, to steele from passengers, napkins, and fine sendall, silk girdles, olde shirtes, fine coyffes, and also perfumed gloves: and all the same to hide, to

sleepe in, to breede in, and to bring up their young ones, and also to gnawe on when they want meate. And brother passenger, marvell not when thou feelest, that sometime they do bite thee; for that when I passed betwixt Tunis and Sicil, they did at one time bite mee by the legge, and another time by the eare: and as I had sworne to the priveleges of the Gallie, I made no boast thereof."

Thus writes the prudent Sir Anthonie of Guevara; and I take it, were such the present "priveleges" of the Galley, we should stand a very fair prospect of being crowded somewhat less than we are!

I should state that one of the persons robbed between Hydra and Athens died at Smyrna, in consequence of an imprudent use of milk, which he drank in large quantities, and of his refusal to employ medical assistance "*until he grew worse.*" The rest quitted us here.

Anchored at Vourla in the evening. The French admiral, De Rigny, is at this station. Rumours are abroad that Austria has changed her policy, and intends to favour the Greeks; while France is fitting out an armament in

order to take possession of the Morea. Strange matters, in good sooth!

Thursday, 18*th August*.—Quitted Vourla early. About six o'clock we fell in with an American squadron off Long Island, consisting of a ship of the line, two corvettes, and a frigate. The former carries eighty-four guns, and nearly a thousand men: she has *ports* for one hundred and two guns; yet her commander terms it a *seventy-four!* It is said that they are going to demand the residence of an ambassador at Constantinople, and of a consul at Smyrna.

Friday, 19*th August*.—Passed the ruined town of Scio. The news of the massacre at Hydra was brought here soon after the event, by a Turkish vessel. The Turks immediately began a retaliation upon the Greeks, and before the Pacha could interfere (or in all probability, before he *chose* to interfere!) three hundred of them were butchered.

Saturday, 20*th August*.—Trelawny has just related an anecdote of his late *friend* and *brother*, Odysseus; an anecdote which, while it *justifies* his *attachment*, is a striking evidence

of the sort of delicacy and good feeling which influence the heart and character of the English adventurer!!! Odysseus was desirous of intriguing with a certain woman, and in endeavouring to accomplish his object met with some obstruction from a person who had an affection for her. He was remarkably handsome; Trelawny says he never beheld a finer looking man. This poor wretch, by some mischance, afterwards fell into the hands of Odysseus. He flew upon him, seized him by the throat, and bound him to a tree: he unsheathed his ataghan, and in a few moments literally *hacked him to pieces!* Such a relation, proceeding from the mouth of one so lately connected with him by the closest ties that can bind humanity, needs not any further comment: it speaks with a louder voice than the strongest reprobation could express. A story equally barbarous is told by the same person of Goura; but it is of too gross a description to be related here. Trelawny speaks well only of such persons as *Fenton*, *Whitcombe*, and Co.; and he is, or, in all human probability, soon will be, one of these unhappy and

pitiable beings "whose hand is against every man, and every man's hand against him."

An Ionian vessel, direct from Candia, was boarded this evening, for the purpose of obtaining information relative to the Greeks. The master states, that a small island, called Garabasa, has just been taken from the Turks. It forms one of the horns of a crescent, of which Cape Spada, in Candia, is the other. Ibrahim Pacha has been obliged to evacuate Tripolitza, and the Greeks have gained a considerable advantage over him. He is now on the plains of Calamata, on his way back to Navarin.

Sunday Morning, 21st August.—Further intelligence has been received this morning. The Turks have raised the siege of Missolonghi. Their fleet is dispersed, and gone no one knows whither. They were followed by the Greeks for two days, when a squall came on by which both parties were separated. The fleet of the Greeks then proceeded to Candia, under the idea of finding them in port; and from thence to Rhodes; but they could get no intelligence of their proceedings. Report says, that the Turks are retiring with all speed; that

in fact, they have given up the contest, at least for this year. An insurrection in Candia is also spoken of. I look for confirmation of all this; if *true*, the beneficial consequences of it, as it respects the Greeks, are incalculable. It ought to be added, that His Majesty's Ship Chanticleer, Captain Hope Johnson, being present off Missolonghi during an action between the Turks and Greeks, a ship of the former directed a shot, which went *completely through her*, and killed two men!

Sunday Evening.—The brother of Odysseus (his name is Panayotti) is remarkably inquisitive as to every thing that is going forward. The preparations for church this morning led to numberless questions. Amongst others, my deficiency in *beard* occasioned him infinite surprise: Christ, he said, wore one. During the service he was remarkably attentive, though not able to comprehend what was said. He was particularly solicitous to know the number and colour of the garments which we wore, and described, with considerable vivacity, the gay ornaments which decorated their own priesthood. He then attempted a

sort of compliment, Δέσποτά, διαβάζεις πολλὰ καλά.—Trelawny speaks of him as excessively obtrusive; and, to repress his forwardness, treats him as a servant! The way in which he is used, however, is not uncommon among the Greeks with respect to the junior branches of a family. In Hydra, and, generally, in the islands, the children wait upon their parents; and, in many instances, a wife is not permitted to sit in the presence of her husband.

Monday, 22d August.—Hydra. The intelligence relating to Missolonghi is true; with the exception that ten thousand Turks yet remain at a short distance from the place. Miaoulis' arrival was most critical. Yuseff Pacha had proposed a capitulation; and they were to be permitted to march out with their arms. Two of the Greek captains even talked of a surrender, when their fleet arrived, and gave a new turn to affairs: the Turkish vessels were shamefully driven off, and Missolonghi relieved. The Greeks have captured a bey, whose name is not known. *Garabasa* has fallen into the hands of five hundred Cretans, (Candiotes) who are said to have made a

vow to perform some action by which their names might become distinguished. But this is not the age, and, at present, I fear, not the *country*, of such romantic and chivalrous daring!

At Hydra, we learn that two select ships-of-war, commanded by Emanuel Tombasi, and three brulos, under the direction of Canaris, have sailed, about three weeks since, for Alexandria, with an intention to sack the place. They calculate upon the security in which the inhabitants repose; and a letter received from a friendly Greek resident in Alexandria, whose advice has formerly been useful, makes them sanguine of success. The ships are to hoist neutral colours; and when a person from the custom-house boards them, according to the usual practice, they are to imprison him, sail immediately into the harbour, and then, "kill, kill, kill."

A report is prevalent, that the Hydriote sailors mutinied at Missolonghi, in consequence of being refused five dollars each, as prize-money: but the story is not confirmed at Hydra. It may be mentioned here, that each sailor re-

ceives five dollars a month for his services, while on board the respective ships: an immense pay in times like the present, and in a country where produce of all kinds is so cheap.

We are in quarantine, in consequence of an intention to convey Mr. Trelawny, &c. to Zante. Whitcombe has been at Hydra, but left it in dudgeon, the Europeans there having hinted to him that they should decline his acquaintance. Mr. Masson states, that he is scarcely *nineteen*. When Whitcombe was in the cave, he addressed a letter to Mr. Humphreys, (whom I have before mentioned,) and entrusted it to a Suliote chief. This letter was intercepted, and read, accidentally, by Major Bacon, a well-informed entertaining and gentlemanly English traveller, now in the Cambrian. The letter urged Humphreys to obtain for him the return of his pistols, ataghan, &c. and proceeded to accuse him of deserting one whom he called his friend; and, in plain terms, charged him with being accessary to the intended murder of Trelawny. A mode of communication with Fenton, &c. before the attempt in the cave, was as follows. Odysseus

was to be taken off; if the scheme succeeded, they were to be apprized of it by receiving half a lemon; if otherwise, a whole one; and then the assassination of Trelawny was to take place. They received half a lemon!

The object of the proceeding was to secure the treasures, ammunition, provisions, &c. which have been deposited in the cave to a large amount. But report, as usual, has magnified them far beyond reality. The wife of Odysseus, with ten or twelve of his most faithful retainers, are yet in possession of the cave, which is carefully watched by Goura. He will, probably, become possessed of it, by some means or other, ere long.

Mr. Washington, since the failure of his foolish protest against the proceedings of the Greek government, has set off, as is supposed, for Egypt, having expended a large part of a sum of money entrusted to his care by the Greek Committee in America, for Mr. Miller, the gallant American whom I have noticed before. It would appear, therefore, that this same gentleman is another of those needy adventurers whom the present times generate in

such abundance, and who are drawn into Greece by the hope of plunder, or reward! *They will obtain the latter*, I believe, sooner than they expect!

Tuesday, 23d August.—Joined by the Naiad, off Spetzia, where we are at anchor for the night.

Wednesday, 24th August.—Napoli di Romania. They are sending off soldiers for Candia. It is stated, that a small number of Turks yet occupy Tripolitza; but that Ibrahim has made the best of his way to Navarin. *Mr. Whitcombe* has returned to Hydra, very little sensible, as it seems, of the heinousness of his conduct. He is said to be an extremely weak young fellow; full of daring and romance, and desirous of aping the extravagant character of Hope's *Anastasius*.

Thursday, 25th August.—A courier from Tripolitza informs us, that the Greeks have had an engagement with the Turks; have killed two hundred men, and taken a few prisoners. They have also obtained possession of a mill which supplied the enemy with flour, and are extremely well posted. The capture of Tripolitza is hourly expected.

Friday, 26th August.—We have just received intelligence of the failure of the expedition to Alexandria. The Greeks arrived within a short distance of the Egyptian fleet, then in the harbour; when the wind veered, and Canaris was under the necessity of firing one of the brulos, and escaping to the ships of his countrymen.

Seven hundred Arabs are said to have been cut off at Tripolitza, within the last day or two.

Saturday, 27th August.—The quarantine broken. Sixteen Turks (amongst whom is the ci-devant Pacha of Napoli di Romania, who has been upwards of two years in the hands of the Greeks) are to be conveyed to Modon, and exchanged for certain chiefs, now the prisoners of Ibrahim Pacha. They come on board to-morrow. The Turks, it is said, formerly offered 300,000 piastres, nearly 8,000*l.* for this same Pacha; but it was refused.

Just as Captain Hamilton left Napoli this evening, a letter arrived from Colocotroni, with the account of a bloody victory which he had just gained over two thousand Turks, left by Ibrahim Pacha between Navarin and Tripo-

litza, in order to preserve the communication open. We shall have the account to-morrow.

Sunday, 28th August.—Ibrahim is said to have returned to Tripolitza, but Mavrocordato told me this evening that the report was unconfirmed. The *ci-devant* Pacha of Napoli came on board at a late hour with his suite. There are two Pachas, one called Selim, a Pacha of two tails, and Ali, a Pacha of three tails, who had been appointed to the Pachalik of the Morea on the breaking out of the Revolution. They eat and drink and laugh, and seem rejoiced to quit Napoli, though compelled to leave their families behind. A message was sent by one of them to Captain Hamilton to say, "*that they had no objection to wine, provided it was not called wine!*" How a doctrine like this must appal the soul of the Prophet, if it take any cognizance of the proceedings of its followers!

Monday, 29th August.—A son of Colocotroni, a fine lad of about twelve years old, came on board the Cambrian to-day, under the escort of his cousin Constantino, as smart a jacketed personage as any one would wish to

behold. The latter stated his firm conviction that the fortress of Napoli would be in possession of the English in less than four months. He pointed to his silver-hilted embossed ataghan—"This," said he, "is mine; if I chuse to give it away—well! who has a right to interfere?" This opinion prevails very much in Greece amongst all who are a degree above the lowest: these last perhaps care very little about the matter.

I brought off at last the antique alabaster bass-relief mentioned before. It is beautifully executed, and, though a little mutilated, in excellent preservation. I hope ere long to see it commented upon by some of the many classical pens for which our country is famous.

I had great difficulty in making the purchase, which resulted from the endeavour of the Greek who possessed it to squeeze as many dollars as he could from my purse. His prices varied frequently, and at last, believing that I had abandoned it, he stopped Major Bacon, who happened to be passing, and offered it to him for less than what I should have given. The major bargained for it in my behalf; but

just at that moment I happened to come up, and was told of what had occurred: instantly the Greek refused to complete the conditions, and raised his price. Of course, I quitted him, but in the evening, resolved upon another attempt, I carried the dollars in my hand, under the expectation that either sound or sight might seduce him to close the bargain. After waiting some time he arrived; but the bass-relief he then said was sold to another Greek for ten dollars more than I had offered. Accordingly I departed: he followed, and proposed conducting me to the person who had bought it. I strongly suspected that this was all a trick, and determined to see the end. The Greek who acted the purchaser began a long story of his having bought the antique for a friend at Trieste, &c. &c.—"Very well," was my reply, and I again set forth: again I was followed,—"It might yet be had, he thought, but the price could not be diminished." However, I was resolute, and after a long chaffering and long examination of the dollars—for my chapman turned them again and again, and rung them till they emitted a sound that seemed to go like music to his soul—I carried off the

prize for an advance of three dollars upon the original demand.

I have mentioned this circumstance, not to shew that a Greek will take an advantage where he can—for this a man who knows the world, at least, "who knows it like a man," will be convinced of finding every where amongst certain classes; but to instance the kind of treatment (and I fancy it may be considered one of the worst of the instances,) for which a whole nation has been virulently abused. Go to the lower classes of tradesmen in England (I say nothing of the Jews!)—traffic with English *horse-dealers*—employ a London porter or a hackney-coachman—or read the complaints daily and hourly made at Bow-street, and then do justice to the Greeks, or impugn the English people as a nation of swindlers and pick-pockets! But prejudice and ignorance cannot act with liberality.—Can spleen and obstinacy relinquish their opinions? Or can malignity forgive offences that have touched its purse or its person? The impossibility in one instance is the same in all.

One thing I will observe of the Greeks: if you are cheated you are not abused for protest-

ing against it. See what you will experience in England: listen, if you can do it without disgust and horror, to the oaths and obscenity with which a free-born Briton bespatters his beloved countrymen should he detect his knavery, or refuse to be imposed on. Thousands of instances prove that people will rather be cheated than subjected to such loathsome vituperation; and a rogue has often escaped with impunity because it was impossible to withstand the overwhelming torrent of his eloquence? Do not these things deserve to be remembered?

Monday Evening.—Weighed anchor—the quarter-deck covered with "Parthians and Medes and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia"—Jews and Cretes, Arabians and Turks: verily, never quarter-deck exhibited such a motley assemblage. Here, on the carriage of a gun, sits a military priest in Albanian costume; there stalks Levi the Jew; and a little further on, a group of Turks in earnest conversation. Mr. Trelawny (whose nation I am at a loss to imagine!) is squatted on the taffrel; near the gangway are a heap

of Greeks, armed to the teeth—midshipmen, officers, and seamen, mingling and diversifying the scene every moment. Above the highest part of the fortress of Palamedi the broad full moon is rising with unusual splendour: her edge just peeps from the top of the cypress-tree which crowns it, throwing a silvery radiance over the deep. It is nearly calm, and all now

> "Is whist and still,
> Save that the sea, playing upon yellow sand,
> Sends forth a rattling murmur to the land."

Our progress is scarcely perceptible.

This morning the Zebra, a ten gun brig, commanded by Captain Williams, arrived from Malta. The Gannet came from Cerigo the day before.

Wednesday, 31*st August*.—Ali Pacha took coffee and smoked a pipe in the gun-room: his eldest son is with him; three other sons, with their mother, still remain in Napoli, where Ali was born. He is about forty years of age, good-looking, and good-natured, but without any particularly striking characteristic. He is said to be a man of talent, and better acquainted with the Morea than any other Turk

who is living. For this reason they were formerly desirous of ransoming him, but till now, when perhaps the desire has abated, without effect. He was the principal of the Moreote Pachas, and commanded six or seven thousand men at the commencement of the Revolution. His imprisonment was at first extremely harsh; and frequently, he says, he apprehended the loss of his life; but when the government established themselves there he was treated with great respect, and his comfort looked to with all possible care. They allowed twenty-four okes of flour with thirty-six piastres a day, for himself and family. He speaks very good Greek; indeed, his birth and education have given him all the advantages of a native Hellene—except the bar which the religion of the prophet presents to the acquirement of languages. Notwithstanding his message to Captain Hamilton, he could not be prevailed upon to drink either Champagne or Noyau, or any strong liquor. But it was the *publicity* of the transgression we may believe which prevented his compliance.

Thursday, 1st Sept.—Modon. The wrecks of the Turkish vessels set on fire by the Greek

brulos are yet in the harbour. Turkish troops are encamped along the shore, and a number of green tents are intermingled with the rest—these are probably the quarters of the chiefs. Ibrahim is at Mystra, twelve hours' journey from Tripolitza.

Modon is an old Venetian fortification, opposite the islands of Sapientza. A curious octagon fort, communicating with the town by a stone bridge, commands the bay. There are three batteries; the two uppermost have the appearance of being patched upon the dome of some building, formerly applied to other purposes. But I am not aware that this was the case; and, indeed, its situation renders it highly improbable.

The country around Modon resembles, in certain parts, the dark barren land presented by our Yorkshire coal territories; such, for instance, as lie between Leeds and Pontefract, &c. for the Turks encamped here employ themselves in cutting down and burning the olive-trees. In other parts it has a fruitful aspect; and many of the Turkish tents are at present pitched in extensive orange or olive groves.

Friday, 2d Sept.—Two Greek vessels-of-war, one of which was probably a fire-ship, taking the Cambrian for a Turkish frigate, bore down upon us this morning, and fired a gun. But at the distance of a mile and a half, observing English colours, and the well-known black masts of the Cambrian, they sheered off.

The Pacha of Modon came on board to hold a conference with Ali Pacha. They have been a considerable time in earnest conference on the quarter-deck, surrounded by their partizans. He of Modon pays great external respect to the other; but endeavours to withdraw from him any hopes he may have entertained of an exchange being brought about: perhaps means to prevent it.

Sunday, 4th Sept.—Heavy gales of wind. Last night there was a thunder-storm, of great beauty. Large black clouds emitted flashes of singular brightness and magnitude; while the moon, struggling to escape from her confinement, silvered their edges, so as to give a very novel and striking effect to the scene. The ship rocked extremely.

Monday, 5th Sept.—Twenty-five sail of the Greek fleet passed between Sapientza and the

main this morning. They were probably on their way to intercept the reinforcement which we hear at Modon is hourly expected from Egypt. This amounts to twelve thousand men; but, in fact, the season is too far advanced, and the delay has been too considerable to expect their arrival now. And even if they should arrive, the Greeks, in event of the worst, will escape to their mountains till the winter or the plague destroys or drives their enemies back.

Tuesday, 6th Sept.—A French merchantman, convoyed by a French *man-of-war*, which has for some days been anchored off the island of Sapientza, put into the Bay of Modon this morning. Will it be believed, that she brings a present of *six Circassian women* to Ibrahim Pacha, from the Sultan? Is it possible to suppose that the French nation will permit their navy to be engaged in such dishonourable service? or does the commander alone take upon himself the infamy? It is, at all events, a curious circumstance, and sounds disagreeably in the ears of an Englishman. The brig is understood likewise to have brought a quantity of gold and silver for the Egyptian Pacha.

Wednesday, 7th Sept.—Our object at Modon, it will be remembered, was to negociate an exchange of prisoners. The son of Pietro Bey and Hadgi Christi, a brave Bulgarian, engaged in the Greek cause, are amongst them, for whom the two pachas are to be given up; and the rest, man for man. The Pacha of Modon states himself unable to admit this exchange, and equally unable to send a message to Ibrahim, in consequence of the insecurity of the road. A Turkish messenger, he says, would certainly be cut off. Captain Hamilton has, therefore, determined to dispatch some of his own officers to Ibrahim to arrange with him all the proceedings. I am to accompany them; and on the arrival of His Majesty's Ship Zebra, we are to set out.

We have just received another *protest*, signed by M. Jourdain, (a French officer, who has been for a length of time in Greece,) against the act of the legislature, which surrenders Greece to the protection of Great Britain. He threatens, unless the act be annulled, *to write the History of the Greek Revolution!* He had better write a history of the *Jordan!*

CHAPTER XVI.

THURSDAY, *8th Sept.*—The Zebra not arriving so early as was anticipated, we left the ship this morning in a caique of Zante, hired for the purpose, eight in company, viz. Lieut. Smart, whom I have mentioned before; Mr. Strangways; two midshipmen, (Messrs. Riall and Hotham); Mr. Dalzell; the captain's clerk; a Turkish Chia Aga to Ali Pacha, (one of the prisoners on board, who accompanied us to facilitate, as much as he might, the liberation of his master, but with an engagement to return); a Greek, called Panayotti, whose brother is a prisoner at Modon, and in whose behalf Captain Hamilton has addressed a letter to the Egyptian Pacha, and myself, *historiographer* to the party. The Cambrian was to sail immediately for Malta; and, accordingly, we left her in quarantine.

Our progress was slow. The men used their oars, and laboured incessantly; but we re-

mained all day in sight of the frigate. At night we lay at the bottom of the boat, exposed to a heavy dew. But the weather was clear, and a brilliant, but not uncommon, meteor, in these countries, similar to the bursting of a rocket, was observable during the night.

Friday, 9th Sept.—We were carried, by the mistake of our boatmen, to Scardamoula, a little village on the opposite side of the Gulf of Coron, to the right of Kitries, whither we were proceeding. It is picturesquely situated at the bottom of a large gulley, close upon the sea, and backed by a magnificent range of mountains. Before landing at this place we discovered our error, and put about for Kitries, between which and Scardamoula, at the foot of a ravine, we perceived a covered well. The mention of such a circumstance to travellers who may be in the country, is an object of importance.

At one o'clock we reached Kitries, which stands upon a rock, deeply embayed within surrounding mountains. The north shore presents a successive series of natural terraces, rising one above the other. There is great

depth of water in the bay, even up to the very rocks; so much so, that it is necessary to secure vessels by a hawser attached to the shore. A number of martial-looking faces met us at the landing-place; amongst the rest, a nephew of Pietro Bey, a youth of seventeen or eighteen, with a very intelligent countenance. He conducted us into the presence of the chief —a goodly personage, corpulent and short. His features expressed extreme good nature, but *not* much understanding. His eyes project; his face is broad and chubby, and his mustachios, by undue training, unite with his whiskers, which are clipped above and below, but suffered to run wild in the centre. They are, therefore, drawn out to a prodigious length. He wore an Albanian dress *, begirt with a splendid shawl, of rich gold embroidery; a silver-gilt pistol, highly chased, was attached to his belt. In short, his presence was that of a respectable old gentleman, of about fifty years; well to pass in the world, and over

* Perhaps this term is hardly correct. His white *nether* garment is fastened a little below the knee: the Albanian is loose, exactly like a Scotch kilt.

whom the finger of care moved lightly and easily, troubling, perhaps, for the time, but leaving none of those fearful impressions which prey upon and overpower the mental energies *. He was attended by a number of military chiefs, in a common sort of chamber, for the appearance of which he thought it necessary to apologize. It was a *barrack*, he said; his house was upon Cape Grosso, where his family then resided.

We explained our mission.—On the subject of his son he spoke little, but appeared much dejected. The Turkish Aga who had been left in the caique with the midshipmen till his safety was guaranteed, was now sent for, and

* The following is Pouqueville's inflated, and certainly inaccurate description of this chieftain. "Un port majestueux, pareil à celui des races héroïques; de beaux traits, animés par le coloris que donnent les habitudes des montagnards qui vivent entre le trente-sixieme et le trente-septième parallèle de latitude septentrionale; un son de voix éclatant; auraient annoncé, en le voyant, que Pierre Mavro-Michalis était le monarque de l'Eleuthero-Laconie, si ses manières n'avaient averti qu'il n'était que le premier entre ses pairs, comme sa bravoure disait qu'il était le frère d'armes de tous les Lacons belliqueux."—*Hist. de la Grece.* Tome II. 579.

he received him with a cordiality of manner which evidenced good feeling not less than good policy. He spoke a few words of Italian.

Ibrahim they believed was at Tripolitza, and Colocotroni three hours' march from him. A slave had escaped from the Pacha's army, and informed them of his intention to proceed a second time to the mills opposite Napoli. Pietro had communicated it to the Greek government. It was proposed that we should have a guard to Colocotroni, and there make our arrangements for reaching the Egyptian army. In the mean time we were to remain a day at Kitries, in order to enable the Bey to procure horses and other necessaries for our journey.

Kitries is a very small village, consisting of not more than eight or ten cottages, but it is crowded with inhabitants. This is probably owing to the present war, and to the necessity of supporting a large body of retainers. The Bey has two hundred constantly about him. The place abounds with fig-trees. Behind the Bey's house is a small ruined castle, once held by the Turks, but blown down with cannon during a civil war.

We were called to dinner at five o'clock; and though a fast day with our worthy host, he entertained us sumptuously, while he abstained himself. As the night drew on, a dependent with a long black beard held over us a lighted lamp, and stood like a statue the whole time we were eating. This again reminded us of ancient Highland torch-bearers; an instance of which, if I mistake not, we find in the "Legend of Montrose." Soups and fishes in every form, all excellently cooked, with country wine of admirable flavour, were abundantly supplied. At eight our couch was spread (for we were to start by day-light) where we had dined. That part divided from the rest, and called the *divan*, (it had once, doubtless, been a Turkish residence,) with the space between, was occupied by our company, including the Greek and Turk who travelled under our escort. On the left of the entrance was a small door leading to a kind of balcony, which overlooked the sea. Here, with the clear blue sky for a canopy, and the murmuring ocean for their lullaby, (but I question if they were sensible of the *poetry* of their situation!) our host had deposited the females of his fa-

mily, amongst whom was an Arab slave, the most comely-looking creature of the kind that I have seen. Close by, in our own apartment, the Bey took up his rest. Two other Greeks, his attendants, lay on the side opposite to him, where stood a lamp, suspended from a short wooden stick. Over the partition forming the divan, was a small recess, in which the PANAGIA (*All-holy*, applied to the Virgin,) slumbered—or watched over her votaries. If the last were her occupation, she was assisted by a lamp of oil, lighted up as the dusk approached, and secured by a small glass door, covering the recess. The whole scene before us was very striking. Our situation being at the higher end of the chamber, we had a good prospect of its entire length, for the lamp was suffered to burn through the night. The party were extended on mats in various portions of the room, the walls of which were decorated with weapons—guns, pistols, and swords; a broad-headed lance or two rested in the corner. I could scarcely prevent my fancy from revelling in all the luxury of romantic adventure. Our old host, having divested himself of his skull-cap, outer *breeches*, and jacket, lay along his

mat the shape of a huge mound, swelling gradually to the apex. His secretary kneeled beside him, armed with pen, ink, and paper, and employed in scribbling the dispatches he was dictating for Colocotroni and the captains we were likely to meet with in our way. (See the Appendix.) The lamp stood near them, and cast a strong gleam upon their countenances, made more picturesque by the long hair of the Bey, which swept the ground as he reposed. By and bye he fell asleep:—how the room re-echoed!—Such a stentorian organ I never heard. The effect which it produced was as a sort of diminutive mountain thunder—a grand diapason upon the strings of Nature's viol!—and this, added to the perfect accordance of several minor instruments, perfected the evening's concert. Every now and then up started one of our party, enfuriated at the vindictive assault of squadrons of fleas and bugs that marched zealously to battle—fought more ferociously than lions, and laughed to scorn the impotent scratchers, who wore away their finger-nails, and shed their own blood ineffectually and vainly. But truly, to the valorous Greek

these matters are nothing, and so common as hardly to awake a moment's notice.

In the morning we resumed our conference with the Bey relative to the release of his son. Tears stood in his eyes when he told us the misfortunes of his family. One of his children fell at Carysto, another at Neo-castro, while a third remained prisoner at Modon: one of his nephews was killed at the beginning of the Revolution, and his brother, at this time, was a member of the senate at Napoli. These circumstances he enumerated to prove the sincerity of his patriotism, and the exertions which his family had made. He had supported the Revolution almost from the very commencement *, and could we be the means of eman-

* Six or eight months ago, however, on the appointment of Condouriotti to the Presidency in the room of Pietro Bey, the latter refused to resign, on the plea of the *incompetency* of his successor to fill the office: this occasioned a civil war. Hadgi Christi was sent with troops to Tripolitza, where the Bey then resided, to force him to submit. A fight took place, in which the ex-president lost seventy men, and then surrendered himself a prisoner, because, as he said, the contest would be the ruin of his country. He was conveyed to Napoli and tried; but they

cipating his son, nothing within the compass of his ability should be wanting to testify his gratitude—not, though it were the last drop of his blood. Of his son, he said that his imprisonment was owing to a breach of faith on the part of an Austrian and a French man-of-war then before Navarin. Previously to resigning the fortress, the captains of these vessels had expressed their readiness to receive the fugitives on board; but when the necessity of their succour was manifest and urgent, they positively refused. "Yet," added Pietro Bey, "I strictly enjoined him to enter into no treaty with *any* nation but the English, certain in no other to experience perfect sincerity. I expended three hundred piastres every day in sending messages to and fro; and to Zante, for the purpose of obtaining the presence of an English man-of-war. My efforts were vain."—The Cambrian was then at Malta, undergoing repairs, or it would have well suited Captain Hamilton's benevolent disposition, to be the instrument of their safety. Pietro observed,

pardoned him, perhaps because they were afraid to punish. This unhappy dispute was, in all probability, the means of admitting Ibrahim into the Morea.

that he was the first who proposed the expedient of soliciting protection from Great Britain, and that he had urged it with all his influence. He assured us of every necessary arrangement being made for our journey; and this morning we were dispatched in a caique to Calamata, where horses and other matters awaited us.

Three Turks conveying messages to Ibrahim Pacha were intercepted last evening.

Saturday, 10*th Sept.*—We set forward, by water, for Calamata, after breakfasting upon stewed fowl and an excellent pillau. The country every where here is extremely beautiful, being covered with olive and fig-trees. A short distance to the north of Kitries we observed two villages called Great and Little Maddela. Further on, a sort of tower, rising amid an olive-grove, is denominated Palæa-chors; and on the steep side of a mountain, no great way from the summit, is a village called Siltza, upon which light clouds are now floating, and, from their situation and appearance, seem to my imagination like smoke issuing from the crater of a volcano. Our very excellent camerado, Mr. Strangways, who sits near, and seems

endeavouring with his eternal pipe to imitate the clouds on the mountain—he, I say, protests that they resemble any thing *but* a volcanic exhalation. I shall therefore remit the matter to the learned.

We arrived with a fair wind at Calamata, or rather at the nearest beach, which is a quarter of an hour's walk from the town, now in utter ruin from the incursion of the Egyptians. The shore was covered with circular strings of figs, united by holes made through the centre, which appears to be the common mode in which they are packed. I understood that five thousand okes are annually exported to Coron and the adjacent places; but principally to Trieste. The quantity, however, is comparatively small, and most probably an error. Indeed, it is difficult, in times like the present, to obtain correct estimates of the produce. A thunder-storm drove us from the sail tent which had been spread to protect us from the heat, till the arrival of our horses; and we took refuge in a ruined fortress, of modern erection, close by. The white clouds curled beautifully up the mountains, exhibiting several singular effects of light and shade.

After considerable delay, occasioned by a variety of circumstances, we began our pilgrimage through a remarkably fertile plain, abounding in fig-trees, vineyards, and mulberries. We could not discover the smallest trace of Turkish devastation. Our road lay through green and shady lanes, formed by the *cactus opuntia*, (prickly pear,) which displayed its red oblong fruit, clustered in the most curious order, and festooned with bunches of grapes and blackberries. A late thunder-storm had overthrown a variety of fig-trees, which lay rooted up and withered between two Greek villages upon our right, called Hizia and Houtziouza; and we were here overtaken by the clamour of a woman, whose mule it appeared we had levied. She obtained, I fear, little redress at this time, though demanded with tears, and the shrillest cries that feminine utterance could supply. We reached Phroujalacamera early in the afternoon; and as it was determined that we should remain here the whole night, our horses were looked to as well as ourselves. A Greek of this place, who had been in one of the Ionian regiments present at the taking of Genoa, expressed himself

freely about the existing government of Greece. He severely reprobated their mode of acting, and disapproved of the interference of French officers. The Greeks, he said, would not be led by them; but the English they would follow to the death. The same sentiment, whether true or false, I have frequently heard expressed; and this very evening, while descending a hill, which I had mounted in order to obtain a more extensive view of the country, a Greek soldier uttered the counterpart of this feeling, adding a question relative to the period in which an English army might be expected to co-operate with them.

We reposed all this night, like the preceding ones, upon the floor. A little square room, hardly big enough to contain us, was our resting-place. But fatigue, like hunger, is not fastidious: we were soon asleep.

The following morning it was communicated to us, that the commandant of the village, who had civilly provided us with fresh sumpter mules, and some provisions, had received a letter from Colocotroni, by a Greek female. It stated, that Ibrahim Pacha had been

stabbed by a Candiote Turk, infuriated at the diversion which lately took place in the island. Colocotroni observed, that the report had been first conveyed to him by a liberated slave; that he disbelieved it until confirmed by certain Albanians, who had come over to his party.—We know not what to believe.

Previous to continuing our route, our purveyor and chief guide, (we had six in all,) a confidential servant of Pietro Bey, with a jet black beard and mustachios, long enough to lower the pride even of Mussulman chins, having to discharge a small sum for shoeing our horses, engaged in vehement dispute with the smith about the amount. This personage proving contumacious, was cuffed with so much good will and spirit by our black-bearded friend, that at length he heard reason; allowed the point of his argument to be weighty, and indeed irresistible. Till now we had taken the logician for a *priest;* and his chin had led us into the mistake. But we found that the length of the appendage was the consequence of *sorrow for the sufferings of his country, and of his master's house!* It

appeared that he had not altogether forgotten the privileges of feudal despotism still enjoyed by the Bey of Maina!

Our dispute being adjusted, we proceeded through the same delightful country as had gratified us the day before. Our course lay over excellent roads of gravelly soil, at the foot of the mountainous chain, which continually presented an interesting and diversified appearance. Every now and then we met armed parties of Greeks; and frequently noticed women labouring in the vineyards. Could we trust the songs they occasionally sung, we might believe that their hearts were lighter than the state of Greece would justify! We passed through the villages Delimene and Parmis; but we witnessed no where the expected symptoms of a desolating war. About noon we alighted near a jagged defile, called Agiophora; and beneath the shade of a large plane-tree, enjoyed some delicious grapes. A well of cold water was close at hand,—no minor luxury. As we advanced, we left Scala, a village, situated on the side of an eminence, upon our left. Not far from hence, a thunder-storm, which we had perceived brooding for

some time, came upon us with pitiless severity. In a few moments we were nearly wet through, but managed to find shelter in a cottage which the Turkish army had left in ruins.. It accommodated both us and our horses.

A short distance from the Derveni, a strong pass over the mountains of Macriplagi, leading to Tripolitza, and which we were about to ascend, we observed, upon the plain below, a number of men running with prodigious celerity, and waving a dirty tattered flag. The Greek, who accompanied us from the frigate, (Panayotte,) hailed them; and we were informed, that they desired us to stop. Our Turk, for better security, was placed in the centre of our little troop; and just as we arrived at the ascent of the pass, up came, one after another, like "geese that scream and scatter round the plain," above a hundred Greek soldiers. They were all regularly armed, and a detachment from a party of three hundred, under the command of one Giovanni Carakitchio, who may, for any thing I know, be a prodigiously fine fellow, —the very god of war. And in this hope, I record him. He guarded the pass of the

Derveni; and may, therefore, pass here for a hero! *Verbum sat.*

Fearful, lest some sudden ebullition of fury or revenge might endanger the life of the Turk, we hinted to the captain that he was under the protection of the British flag; that Pietro Bey had guaranteed his security, and, therefore, that we expected them to do him no injury. Ὄχι, ὄχι! *no, no!* burst at once from the whole troop, whose faces were instantly lighted up with a feeling of kindliness, which one would not have looked for in the rough mountaineers before us, especially toward a Turk. But I am persuaded that the Greeks are *not* naturally a cruel people. They may be guilty of great excesses, and their annals may present acts of ferocity and barbarity which other nations have not surpassed, or even equalled. This *may* be: I do not now debate the question of its truth. But such acts, if properly considered, would be found to have arisen from long and incessant excitation,—from momentary fits of frenzy, natural to a sensitive and imaginative people, when pressed beyond a certain point of endurance. And in every case, it is the depravity of individuals, not

national thirst for blood, or national hard-heartedness. Any other creed militates against humanity as much as it disparages the Greeks.

Our passport from the Bey was scarcely glanced at. The captain knew our friend black-beard, and that was sufficient. We had here a repetition of the report of Ibrahim's death; with the addition that it was occasioned by the quarrel of two Candiote Beys; of whom one, to gratify his spleen and hatred, murdered the Pacha. This is, as Shakespeare portrays it, "enter Rumour, painted full of tongues."

With many expressions of civility, on both sides, we separated, the whole company saluting us with the usual compliments at departure. A little building erected here seems adopted as a guard-house, or more probably, if I may be allowed the conjecture, a sleeping-house; for too much of the soldier's time is thus squandered. It is situated at the entrance of the pass, a distance of five hours from the village where we rested the preceding night. We now began the ascent: the road is rugged in the extreme; but the valley, widening as you advance, is exquisitely beautiful. We

wound slowly along its edge, from which, down to the bottom, grew abundance of wild olives, wild apple, and pear-trees,—oaks, and some were of very considerable bulk; mulberry-trees and underwood of an infinite variety of species.

At two o'clock we reached a ruined cottage not far from Mount Ithone, the highest point of the range; and here, the threatening aspect of the weather, and the apprehension of bivouacking in the open air caused us to settle for the night. The storm soon commenced, and the rain poured through the shattered roof so copiously, as to oblige us to seek another apartment, which we found in the upper story of an adjoining out-house; bad enough indeed it was, for, like the other, its floor was partly torn up, and the rain dripped at no moderate rate through the tiles. Still it was the best—and the best, I believe, we made of it: we cooked our coffee in a pan which we had brought along with us, and which served for every purpose—the *factotum* of our establishment. In the mean while, our men were busy roasting a whole sheep, which they had condemned to the stake. This is the common me-

thod: stones are piled on either side of the mutton, the ends of the stake are laid thereon, and turned about with the hand. At an early hour we couched upon the boards, and fell asleep in a twinkling.

Monday, 12th Sept.—About five o'clock we recommenced our journey. The sky was clear, and the sun just beginning to be visible. We rode in one line, like pilgrims in procession: this order the narrowness of the path obliged us to observe. We now descended into the glen, which soon afterwards terminated, and the ground alternately displayed hills and dales, all magnificently wooded, until we arrived upon a perfect level, composed of a fine sandy soil, and covered with oaks of great magnitude—exactly similar to the best specimen of park scenery in England. It should be noticed here, that a roughly-paved causeway extends the whole line of the road we pursued, and proves the industry, if not the ability, of some of Macadam's Grecian progenitors. The path is evidently not modern. At the extremity of this place the road descends, and the cultivated country again assumes another form of beauty—large fields of millet and maize,

being bounded by high woods, principally of the oak and plane. Many of the finest of these have been wantonly cut down and burnt upon the spot; and it is not uncommon to observe valuable trees hollowed out by means of fire placed at their roots, and this frequently to cook the victuals of some passing traveller, or to warm him during the night.

Crossing a small brook we perceived traces of the Turkish encampment—the first we had noticed since the commencement of our travels. Here and there were dead horses, portions of the Arab dress, skins of sheep, bullocks' heads, &c. &c. It was about a month since they passed. The whole country now undulated with "hill and dale and wooded glen," and forcibly reminded me of England—I could scarcely believe myself in Greece. On our left we observed Carytena—*renowned* shall I say, or *infamous*, for having given birth to Colocotroni?—and higher appeared the acropolis of the ancient Megalopolis, the *birth-place* of Philopœmen, the *last* of the Greeks. The road from hence winds up a very precipitous rock, to the left of a deep ravine. The mountainous chain, which commences at this place, the mo-

dern Greeks term Aripsomati. An hour's journey from its further base we dined, near a well of delicious water, and around which appeared new signs of the Turkish camp. A plain follows, called Pappira, at the remoter end of which is a lofty eminence, with a sort of abutment of handsome Cyclopean architecture: the edge of the hill also slightly betrays the same appearance. Our Greek interpreter styled it *Sapolevere*, a name which, I doubt, has no other existence. All examination was, of course, impossible.

Within an hour and a half's ride of Tripolitza, and close to this place, five or six Greeks, taking us for Turkish cavalry, scampered off in great haste. We endeavoured, but without effect, to make them understand who we were. When, however, we reached the mountains, they hovered over our heads, and having collected in greater numbers, bellowed out to us to ascend the acclivity and relate our business. This was a labour we had no inclination to; and the delay making them grow impatient, a musket was pointed at our party. Blackbeard, or Janetta, (which was his name) vociferated right lustily, and at last the moun-

taineers approached and inspected our passport. We now ascertained that Ibrahim was not at Tripolitza, that he had proceeded to Mistra, and was *not* dead. A few miles from the town Mr. Dalzell was dispatched with the Turk to demand protection for the Greeks in our service; and in the mean while we made a general attack upon a vineyard not far from us. This gave time for our ambassador to effect the proposed object, and about sun-set we reached the town. Our way conducted us through a narrow road between two sloping rocks, and on coming up to the gates we found six or seven Turks ready to receive us, the commandant at their head—a plain, unpretending, common-place personage, with a mouth continually open, like the hall-door of some hospitable mansion—intended for the accommodation of travelling flies—as somebody has said. He received us with tolerable civility, and promised to provide us a lodging. Ibrahim had left Tripolitza for Mistra four days preceding; since then, they had no communication, and knew not where he was.

The first coup-d'œil of Tripolitza, on reaching the rising ground before the gates, was ex-

tremely magnificent. The sun was just sinking, and while the town was in shadow, part of the fine range of mountains beyond were lighted up with indescribable splendour.

Nothing can be worse than the present state of Tripolitza; it could not be defended half an hour against a regular attack. The gates are in such a dilapidated condition as almost to be kicked down with the foot; and though the jealousy of the commandant refused us permission to walk around it, and at night placed a centinel over us, yet we could see enough to be satisfied that the walls were in little better condition than the gates. Several dismounted guns were visible from our window; and the greater part of this extensive town, at least in the quarter through which we passed, was in complete ruin. The Turk lodged us in a large house occupied formerly by our friend Pietro Bey. The ceiling of our apartment was lavishly gilded, and the wainscot painted in the gayest colours. But whether from defect of means, or lack of hospitality, we were presented with a small plate of cheese cut into little pieces, and a sort of common sweatmeat called Helwan, (made of sugar, flour, almonds, and other ingredients)

with bread and sour wine. It is true he apologized for not being prepared for our reception, and added, that it would require a little while to make ready our supper. After two or three hours of "patient expectation," came the miserable pittance just noticed. It seems, therefore, that provisions were not very plentiful in Tripolitza; and as every means of communication is cut off by the Greeks, the thing is not improbable. Yet they boasted of having provisions in the place for a year!

Tuesday, 13th Sept.—We set out about eleven o'clock, after tasting a mess of boiled rice, which the commandant munificently gave us for dinner. A small quantity of coffee and bread was added to our travelling store; and his worship even mounted his nag and attended us half a mile from the gates of the town. So that in all probability he was one of those who love being generous at the least expence; or else his means kept not pace with his desires. There was plenty of cattle, nevertheless, grazing near the town, (the plain of Tegea) under a guard of Arab soldiers.

The country over which we travelled this day, had not that wooded appearance which

so much delighted us yesterday. Yet the valleys were exceedingly fertile, and abounded with millet, Indian corn, and vineyards. Ten or eleven miles from Tripolitza, is a precipitous descent. Opposite is a mountain, midway up which a village called Vervena appears. Here it was said that Colocotroni remained with his army. In the valley is the dry course of the Sèrauda-potamo, (signifying forty rivers or brooks flowing into it, but called anciently the Alpheus:) its source is not remote.

We proceeded along the bottom of this valley, in which are fine vineyards, where we refreshed ourselves, and reached a narrow pass between two mountains. Mr. Hotham, Riall, and myself, had advanced in company with the old Turk, who was first, perhaps a hundred yards before the remainder of our party. We were remarking the peculiar fitness of the place for obstructing the progress of an invading army, and marvelling at the apparent absence of impediment to ourselves, when all at once we heard a voice from an eminence, calling to our companions behind; and, turning round, we beheld an armed Greek peeping through the crevice of two large stones standing per-

pendicularly from the rock. On the reply of our guide that we were καλοὶ ἄνθρωποι—good men, and true: a number of soldiers started from various lurking-places in the rocks, and descended to question us. Some of our company observed, that as our guide answered the query of the first speaker, the muzzles of six or seven guns were withdrawn from embrasures in the rock: and the wonder is, how we, who were in the advanced party, were suffered to pass without a ball or two from our concealed friends, especially that they did not pick out the Turk. It may be supposed, that feeling secure of us, they were desirous of examining the strength of the whole party before they commenced firing. For had they been asleep, it would have been impossible for them to assume the hostile appearance in which we know they were, so rapidly as they did. Half a mile further, we turned a couple of hundred yards to the right, and entered a small ravine, where we bivouacked for the night. A curious scene it was; and one which Salvator would have loved to delineate. Our own *immediate* party sat beneath two large overshadowing elms; one of which had been artificially hol-

lowed. A few paces to the right, a prodigious fire had been lighted, around which six armed Greeks, mostly in Albanian costume, including old Janetta, with his monstrous beard, were assembled. The last was making ridiculous grimaces, and dancing; while the red flame tinged all their dark laughing faces in a very striking manner. A grey horse, cropping maize to the left, and within the influence of the light, may also be brought into the picture; while between us and it a mountain stream ran with a murmuring sleepy sound. Various trees, and the lofty wall formed by the opposite side of the ravine, secured us from the wind. A blue sky, sparkling with innumerable stars, completed the outline. Just as we had wrapped our cloaks about us, and were falling asleep, a fox, or more probably a jackal, came down to the water. Mr. Strangways seized his pistols, and alarmed us by an exclamation, which, to our drowsied faculties, seemed to denote an attack. The animal, however, went leisurely off, and returned no more.

Wednesday, 14*th Sept.*—The course we pursued was diversified, but without much wood. We were hailed, as before, by a party

of Greeks, lodged amongst bushes of the dwarf oak, which clothed the sides of the ravines. These people expressed great anxiety to know when assistance might be expected from England; in truth, they appear quite convinced that the government *meant* to furnish it. Shortly after this rencontre, the scenery changed and undulated in the most beautiful manner. Dead horses, marked at short intervals the advance of the Turks; and after we had passed a singularly wild and dangerous pass, called Krevatakani, the ancient scene of the marauding expeditions of Colocotroni, and his companion Zacharopoulo, a vast number of dead goats, sheep, oxen, and horses, shewed the wanton and impolitic mode of Egyptian warfare. Upwards of a hundred goats and sheep were flung into a large ditch; others were strewed over every part of a wide space, mangled in the most disgusting way. A fine cow had been killed and skinned; and the luxuriant vagabonds had carved off a single steak from the rump, and surrendered the rest to the vultures! Some animals were roasted whole, half eaten, and left. Indeed the way from hence to Mistra was a most

hideous spectacle; and offensive to more organs than one.

On reaching Bruliah, a point of our descent toward Mistra, the whole range of Taygetus, now called Pendedactylon, (five-fingers,) whose summits we had perceived for some time, opened upon us with surprising magnificence. A deep ravine close by, lined with olive-trees, led to an opposite mountain, on which, immediately after our appearance, we heard signal guns fired, one by one, along the whole line of the station. We were again beset by the Greeks, who skipped like goats over the rocks. Twenty or thirty presently surrounded us; and after chattering at a great rate for some time, hearing and imparting news, and examining the pass of Pietro Bey, we were permitted to proceed, saluted with the mountain farewell, καλὸ.

From this place we observed Mistra; but we saw with regret that the town was smoking in a variety of places. The way conducted us through many beautiful vallies, ornamented as well as the higher regions with olive-trees. Lanes of the laurel rose were intermingled with a multiplicity of flowering shrubs, and watered

by fine streams. We presently crossed the celebrated Eurotas, (Βασίλι Ποταμὸς,) the "*King of Rivers*," once covered with swans, and worshipped by the Spartans as a god; but now shallow and muddy, and neglected. The late rains had caused it to swell, and it ran at this time very rapidly. An hour and a half's ride from Mistra, and on the right of Sparta, we passed the brick pier of a double arch, formerly an aqueduct, and constructed probably by some of the Roman emperors. In the same line we also distinguished a ruined gateway. Sparta is close by; the ground over which we passed was, perhaps, part of it. We observed on our left the walls of an acropolis, or of a temple, dedicated possibly to Jupiter Acreus.

As we drew near to Mistra, fire broke from the houses, but not a soul was visible. A few Greeks, attracted by the hope of collecting what had not yet perished, appeared afterwards. We entered the town and beheld the flames all around us; houshold utensils broken and scattered in every direction. Nothing in short could equal the desolation, or the interest which it excited. In one place a cat remained

the only inhabitant; in another, a dog barked at us as we passed, resolved to have the usual gratification of its spleen, though it sounded over the ruined hearth, and the broken shrine of domestic happiness.

" 'Tis sweet to hear the watch-dog's honest bark
Bay deep-mouthed welcome as we draw near home"—

But what a different feeling must have arisen in the mind of the owner of one of these burnt dwellings, when he returned to witness the wreck of his comforts, and the destruction of his property! The Greeks before mentioned conducted us to a house yet untouched, although surrounded by flames. Here we slept; expecting indeed to have been aroused in the night; but the escape was so easy, that we had no apprehension of the consequence. Ibrahim left Mistra, in the state I have described, only this morning. He has gone forward burning and destroying: we shall follow, and be eye-witnesses of the devastations he has caused.

Thursday, 15th Sept.—Ibrahim Pacha's movements being so uncertain, and, for a Turk, unusually rapid, it was determined that we should leave our baggage behind us, and put

the necessary guides on the disengaged horses, in order to proceed with more expedition. For my own part, I felt convinced that the army was at no great distance; both from the nature of the ground they had to travel, the objects on which they were employed, and the natural torpitude of those who composed the mass of the army. But this opinion being overruled, an arrangement was made accordingly. By the kind acquiescal of Mr. Strangways, whose invariable readiness to oblige I am most happy to acknowledge, I accompanied Mr. Smart, and Mr. Dalzell in his capacity of interpreter. The rest remained at Mistra, since an additional supply of horses was, under existing circumstances, impossible.

We travelled through groves of olives and mulberries at the foot of Mount Taygetus. After a while the country assumed the appearance of nicely arranged shrubberies, all the plants usually seen in English pleasure-grounds being found indigenous here: but, in fact, the prospect was for ever varying.

Near the foot of a small river, or rather brook, lay an Arab soldier, apparently dying from fatigue. We gave him water and a little

bread, and being unable to render any further assistance, left him to his fate. Above the hill, of which the stream just spoken of formed the base, we found a village on fire, called Dakne, (Sir W. Gell calls it *Daphne*,) and a second further on to the right, termed Allovesovan. Here, we overtook another Arab, but no persuasion could induce him to answer our questions; either fear or disease, probably both, rendered him pertinaciously silent. I say *both*, because a Piedmontese physician at Tripolitza informed us, that the Arabs devoured such quantities of grapes and drank so much water as to bring on the dysentery, of which great numbers had died. Not long after our encounter with the Arab, we observed the naked carcase of a Greek, mangled in a most shocking manner by the vultures, of which numbers were sailing about our path.

Descending a steep hill called Ellade, which overlooks the plain of Helos and the sea, including a distant view of Cerigo, we overtook some stragglers from the Pacha's army—the poorest wretches imaginable, all shreds and patches. On the plain half a dozen villages were smoking: the conflagration had been

spread in every direction. A large flame broke out from a plot of reeds as we passed; and men were just ready to apply fresh fire to hedges formed of dry leaves. A little after we observed a column of the army moving to the left, and we immediately took a similar direction, supposing it the main body of Ibrahim's troops. It proved, however, to be a detachment under the command of Husseim Pacha. As we advanced several heavy guns were fired, and presently several mules, bearing a number of dead and wounded, attended by a guard of soldiers, approached us. We took our station on a rising ground, which commanded the sea and the troops of the Pacha moving along the brow of an eminence in front. The firing still continued, and several dead men, bound upon the backs of mules, passed close to us. At the same moment, a ball which appeared to have scaled the surface of the post chosen by the Egyptian troops, fell within forty or fifty yards from our party. They now formed into a square, and moved a small distance down the side of the height, so as to have the ridge between them and the enemy, and then appeared to be retreating. We could perceive a mistico

lying at anchor close to the shore, keeping up a brisk fire; there were, at the same time, several discharges of musquetry from men who had landed. The object of the Turks was to take possession of two small castles, each containing a garrison of two hundred and fifty soldiers *. A body of men who were now leisurely passing us on their return, we obtained as a guard. They were organized Arabs, and their captain carried a thick stick in his hand to drive them forward: this he applied with apparent good will to the shoulders of any stragglers from the company. When we reached the main camp, which might be four miles from the place of action, such a scene of confusion displayed itself as I had never before witnessed. Miserable-looking beings were every where stretched upon the ground, oppressed by extreme fatigue, while the whole character of what passed reminded me of nothing so much as the turbulence, without the merriment, of an English fair. There was but one tent in the plain, and thus their ragged, wretched bodies

* The country where they are situated is called Trinese. It is not far from Marathonisi, in the gulf of that name, called also *Colochina* or *Colokithia*.

were exposed to the burning heats of noon, except in cases where olive-trees supplied a shade: but the greater part of the army were entirely deprived of such protection. The most fortunate had stationed themselves on the banks of a beautiful river or stream, (the Eurotas) which was full of excellent water, and as clear as crystal, broad, but shallow.

We were conducted by the Arab guard, who attempted, most unsuccessfully, as it appeared to me, a regular march, to the cottage in which Ibrahim Pacha, pipe in hand, was couched. He is a stout, broad, brown-faced, vulgar-looking man, thirty-five or forty years of age, marked strongly with the small pox. His countenance possesses little to engage, but when he speaks, which he does with considerable energy and fluency, it becomes animated and rather striking. He frequently accompanies his words with a long drawling cry, which to European ears sounds ridiculously enough. His manner carries with it that sort of decision which is perhaps the common appanage of despotism: deprived of this he would resemble an uneducated, hard-favoured seaman of our own country—and, I think I have somewhere seen his

exact counterpart—but it may be merely fancy. He was plainly clothed for a Turk; and his camp establishment altogether had none of that parade and luxury which we are accustomed to attach to eastern warfare.

Mr. Smart made known the object of his mission, and delivered the letters with which he had been provided.

The Pacha, in reply to the proposed arrangement, observed, that after the taking of Navarin, he had sent a note to the Greek government on this subject, offering to exchange all the prisoners but *two*, Hadgi Christi and Capitan Nicholas—whom he had long ago promised his chiefs never should be released under existing circumstances. The same proposal he would still abide by. On being urged to give up the two in question also, he obstinately refused. He had pledged his word, and he would keep it. What would Europe say of a man who acted with so little firmness? Instead of admiring his vacillation they would despise him for it. "It is for women," added the haughty Pacha, "to be mutable: I never pass my word but it is sacred. What I say I mean; and what I have said I will do." As for the

Turkish prisoners, their release would be of no advantage to him. The moment they were free he should send them out of the Morea. The principal personage, Ali Pacha, had a rank answering to a general of brigade, and neither he nor the Porte had need of his assistance: if they had, they would have adopted sufficient means to effect his freedom long before this. He wished to conciliate the English nation; and in proof thereof, he stated that the captain of His Britannic Majesty's ship, Chanticleer, (Captain Hope Johnson) having interfered with the disposition of a Greek vessel captured by the Turks, which he considered no legal prize, Ibrahim constituted him judge in the affair; and when on inquiry it had been decided against the Greeks, he relinquished all claim to the vessel!—This story, as well as most of what Ibrahim asserted, bears the stamp of untruth. His evasion relative to the prisoners is open and palpable. When an Eastern Pacha promises his *chiefs*, he usually keeps or breaks his promise as it best suits his politics! This we very well know. But the light in which he regarded our mission cannot be better evidenced than in the observation he seriously made while

testifying his respect for Great Britain, and which he desired us to communicate to the Bey of Maina; namely, "that *for this time* he spared his territory out of *compliment to the English*; and that he might thank Captain Hamilton for the safety of himself and his people. Another time he could not tell what might happen."—The old fox has long been intriguing to gain over Pietro and his Mainotes; and hopes, I presume, by this shew of lenity, to facilitate his views. But

> "To whom do lions turn their gentle looks?
> Not to the beast that would usurp their den!"

And if he really thought to gull *us* by such foolery he must have believed us children indeed.

Speaking of the Morea, although he regretted the necessity of his present proceedings, yet it was his intention to pursue them to the utmost. He would burn and destroy the whole Morea; so that it should neither be profitable to the Greeks nor to him, nor to any one. What would these infatuated men, the dupes of their own imbecile government, do for provisions in the winter? He knew that his own

soldiers would also suffer—that they too must perish. But his father Mehemet Ali was training forty thousand men, and he was in daily expectation of a reinforcement of twelve thousand. If these were cut off he would have more; and he would persevere till the Greeks returned to their former state. One of the castles on the plain, he said, had just been carried by assault, and the garrison all put to the sword; the other was expected to fall immediately. He repeated, "I will not cease till the Morea be a ruin." The sultan has already conferred upon him the title and insignia of Pacha of this unhappy land; "and" said his highness, "if the good people of England who are so fond of sending money to the Greeks would send it directly to *me* it would save them considerable trouble; eventually it all comes to my treasury. I have taken heaps of purses from the Greek soldiers filled with English sovereigns."—This, I rather suspect, is false; and if true, proves that Colocotroni and the rest who are accused of dipping their fingers deeply into the loans, at least, have not detained the soldiers' pay.

Ibrahim laughed prodigiously when he was

told of Canaris's intention to burn the Egyptian fleet in Alexandria, and asserted its utter impossibility. But Canaris was not far from success—a circumstance which was concealed; and another attempt may prove to this Pacha, as secure as he is in his own power and resources, that he has miscalculated both.

On returning from a long, and, to say truth, a tedious conference of three hours and upwards, a curious object presented itself, in the thousands of fires that blazed below the hill on which the Pacha had fixed himself. We were provided with a miserable hovel, totally destitute of every species of accommodation, where we were to rest for the night; and after considerable delay four or five indifferent Turkish messes were sent us. We had to dip our fingers into them for want of spoons—which are usual even with Turks; and to drink water out of a narrow-necked leather bottle, which was common to a dozen dirty wretches beside, who slept in our apartment. But travelling in these countries is no bad antidote to fastidiousness!

CHAPTER XVII.

FRIDAY, 16*th Sept.*—We had a second conference with Ibrahim this morning. He agreed to give up the whole of the prisoners in Modon, amounting to eighty persons, with the exception of Hadgi Christi and Capitan Nicholao, on condition that Ali and Selim Pachas, with their families, were surrendered. He then turned to the affairs of Greece. Colocotroni, he said, was not worth two paras as a soldier; that he never fought himself, but invariably sent his son to battle, while he was collecting money with the acknowledged intention of escaping to Corfu if events were unfavorable. "Liberty! liberty! what changes they ring upon this *liberty!* I prize liberty as much as another man, but the Greeks are not fit for it. If they had it, and were become an established government, they would be the scourge of Europe; they would respect neither the laws nor

the usages of nations. Even in the zenith of their fame they were remarkable for their duplicity and civil dissensions; and they are the same people still."

Mr. Smart observed, that without presuming to be so well versed in history as his highness undoubtedly was, he would object, that there was not a single European nation whose annals did not present innumerable examples of intestine broils.—"Yes," he replied, "America, Spain, and France were examples; but there were no instances of their stabbing their own wives, and cutting women to pieces, as he had himself seen the Greeks do. The Europeans with whom he had intercourse wept over the horrid scenes of butchery which the war exhibited; but the Greeks perpetrated them without remorse."—His highness, it seems to me, had forgot or was ignorant of the cruelties of the Spanish inquisition—the conquest of Peru—the atrocities of the French Revolution; and more than all, of the inhuman butchery of the Greeks at Scio! But Turkish barbarity is almost an exhausted theme; and Ibrahim may one day be reminded of what he seems to have lost all sight of!

"The best thing for the Greeks," continued the despot, "would be an unconditional surrender. Let them return to their former condition. You know the extent of the population in Egypt: I will gain my object at whatever sacrifice; and I hope that a *good God will enable me to do so!*"

Janetta, our guide, imagined that a relative of his—a lad, was a prisoner in the camp of the Turks; and he entreated us to procure his release. Accordingly, the request was made. Ibrahim laughed; "Oh!" said he, "the boy has turned Turk; and I have sent him along with three hundred other Greek lads to a military school, which I have established at Cairo."

Soon after this conversation we retired.

Friday Noon.—The remaining tower has capitulated. I have just seen eighty Greeks who partly garrisoned it, and who were taken by the apostate Suleiman Bey, (*alias* Colonel Seve.) His troops have just returned, and from the appearance, considerably above a thousand men have been employed: a thousand they acknowledge. All the garrison except the eighty, (who were made to sit in ranks,

a public exhibition near the Pacha's quarters) escaped in the mistico, together with a number of women and children.

Just as we were departing, Suleiman Bey came up with a letter from the Pacha for Captain Hamilton. He looks exactly like an ostler turned bandit: a strikingly vulgar face marked with the small pox (as if in sympathy with his master!) is set off by small light blue eyes, light hair, and a flat nose. I was on horseback when he arrived, and heard my friend Smart expend some few flowers of rhetoric upon him, ere I knew on what soil they were planted. I turned away in disgust. This person was raised from the ranks by Buonaparte, and became aid-de-camp to General Ney, for attempting to effect whose escape he was outlawed. He then served in the corps of the Mamelukes, whom he organized; and finally, abandoning his religion for the polluted and degrading faith of the Crescent, he became *Suleiman Bey*, and the associate and friend and general of Ibrahim Pacha.

Saturday, 17th Sept.—We travelled about three hours last evening; and at night-fall slept under an olive-tree near a village burnt

by the Turks, and still in flames. A band of Greeks soon surrounded us; and having ascertained that we were "good men," squatted themselves in a circle near the trêe. We had no light, and could but just distinguish the dark outline of their rough forms, and the long guns which they supported in an upright position while they sat. Old black-beard was the oracle of the party, and told all the news with surprising vivacity. Six Turkish women, whom we met a few miles from hence, who had straggled from the army and lost their way, applied to us for protection. We informed them where the Turks were, and sent them forward; but it was with great difficulty that Janetta, and especially the other men of our suite, could be prevented from making them prisoners. In all probability the information given to the admiring circle on the present occasion would cause their pursuit and capture. The darkness of the night, however, was in their favour:—we had no moon.

We reached Mistra about noon. On the way I found a church on the summit of a small hill, of which the Turks had consumed all they could. The door-posts were formed of ancient

inscriptions, most probably brought from Sparta; and it was with the utmost regret, that I was unable to copy, or even to read them. For I rode a very restless steed, which was not only an enemy to antiquity, but held all things modern in abhorrence, and kicked and pranced very frequently, to the discomfiture and annoyance of my more soberly mounted companions. Let future travellers mark this church; it is not above three or four miles from Mistra, and distinctly seen as they pass.

Our friends had suffered an alarm during our absence. A fire broke out in the night among some distant cottages; and the Greeks in Mistra imagined that Ibrahim had returned. A few supposed that our party had betrayed them to the Pacha, and expressed themselves to this effect. On the other hand, if the Turks had returned, it would have been impossible, they thought, to prove that they were pacific Europeans, in the confusion and uproar of the night, or to make the Turks comprehend the reason of their being then among the Greeks. They inhabited a ruined church, and meant to have defended themselves there as long as

they could. Fortunately, the disturbance was temporary, and attended with no bad results. They had made an excursion to Sparta, which is distant about an hour and a half's ride from Mistra. The impossibility of my visiting these celebrated ruins, was the only thing I regretted in my journey. But impossible it was. Mr. Strangways (whose information and accuracy I can always depend upon) assured me that little more than the theatre remained. In a church no great way off, he saw a mutilated statue of a woman: the head was gone. There were also some remains of Roman architecture.

Mistra is situated at the foot of Taygetus. The ancient acropolis is superseded by a Venetian fort, now in ruins. It is built upon a very precipitous conical rock. The country around is luxuriant to a great degree: olives and figs are extremely abundant, and there are many high lanes and trees upon which the vine creeps, and overhangs in beautifully varied clusters. The way to Sparta, our friends said, was entirely similar. Several curious caves are in the neighbourhood. Behind the town, in the second ravine from the castle, is a foun-

tain; on which I was shewn a bass-relief. Three boys, one at either end, and the other in the centre, support a wreath; above the arcs of which are two winged griffins, and below them two tigers. The execution is indifferent, and its antiquity not very great.

The ravine, next to the castle, has a paved causeway up to the mountains. It is of extreme beauty, and lined with fruit, and other trees of various kinds. The opening upon the plain, which gives a glimpse of the town, and the distant mountains, is uncommonly grand. On the lofty rock, upon which the Venetian fortress is situated, are the remains of an old town, built, apparently, when the place was in the possession of Venice. The architecture was a mixture of Saxon and Gothic.

A Papas, whom we found here, proved extremely serviceable as a cook. He provided some excellent dishes. Indeed there are few of them who are not able caterers; and in this instance we found he added piety to his other good qualities. He never eat without devoutly saying grace; and every morning and evening assembled all the Greek soldiery, whom chance or business brought hither, to prayer. Our Greek,

Panayotti, spoke of him as ἄξιος ἄνθρωπος, "a worthy man," and in our intercourse with him we had no reason to question the fact.

Sunday, 18*th September*. — Once more on horseback, we continued our course along the rich side of Taygetus, passing, at a slow pace, close under the old Venetian fort and houses just alluded to. A mile distant from hence, is a magnificent branching cypress-tree, the largest I ever beheld. Beyond this, we entered a little village, called Tepe, which again exhibited signs of Turkish devastation. Pigs, the abhorrence of all genuine Mussulmans, lay in every direction, and in every state of putridity. Further on, a fine valley opened upon us, and presently after a superb defile, called Langada, down which rushed a stream of water. Up this glen, we proceeded along a very narrow and dangerous ledge of rock, situated midway; discovering an immense perpendicular mountain above, and an equally formidable precipice below.

"How fearful
And dizzy 'tis to cast one's eyes so low!
The crows, and choughs, that wing the midway air,
Show scarce so gross as beetles."

And the glance upward, had an effect quite as striking. The whole of the glen was loaded with trees, chiefly planes; there was also a good deal of underwood, amongst which, flocks of goats were browsing: nothing in nature could be more truly sublime and magnificent. It appears to me, that imagination can scarcely raise itself to the conception of the grandeur displayed in the various scenes of this wonderful pass: every moment I felt excited to new admiration. On our path, strata of white marble were occasionally observable; and a vast variety of large and secure caverns, to which the persecuted inhabitants of the plains were now fleeing. We met numbers of them in our progress; and from all we experienced the most respectful attention. Ascending higher up the mountain, we found large pines in abundance; and many which the lavish hand of the Greeks had set fire to, rather than be at the trouble of lopping off the higher branches, when they wanted fuel. Nearly on the verge of the mountain, perhaps four thousand feet above the surface of the sea, and which we reached principally on foot, owing to the almost impassable na-

ture of the road, we met thirty or forty Greek soldiers, belonging to Pietro Bey, (on emergencies he can muster between six and seven thousand,) under the command of a Capitan Panayotaki. Here we made an excellent dinner, out of a sheep roasted whole. When it was cooked, one of the soldiers drew his ataghan, and laying his unoccupied hand freely upon the roasted sheep, began to dismember it with great dexterity: he then pulled up some bracken leaves, and laid the disjointed parts thereupon. Meanwhile our friend black-beard, with his two *gripers*, tore them into smaller pieces, occasionally plucking off a morsel, which he thurst between his own jaws: the rest he distributed about. Our table was a dirty tarpaulin; but we dined sumptuously, smoked our pipes, and then resumed our journey. The only fruit which seemed to grow upon these mountains, was a sort of large white cherry. On the summit was a good deal of cultivated land; and from hence another glorious prospect presented itself. We could see over the greatest portion of the Morea,—mountains swelling beyond mountains, as if each were the tumulus of a

world; a multitudinous ocean of gigantic tombs! To our left, the clouds gathered midway round the highest parts of the range, and rolled forward in magnificent columns. The summit of the loftiest was tinged with sunshine, displaying a fine example of Goldsmith's beautiful lines.

"Tho' round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head,"—

which, by the way, are not original. In the fourth act (scene 3.) of Dryden's "*Troilus and Cressida*," we have the following:

"Our love's like mountains high above the clouds;
Tho' winds and tempests beat their aged feet,
Their peaceful heads nor storm nor thunder know,
But scorn the threat'ning rack that rolls below."

To return.—In these places we distinguished a vast number of burnt pines. To the right lay a small village in the hollow of the mountain; and stretching far beyond, like a nicely curved bow, the shore of the Gulf of Coron, bordering on Calamata, distant about four hours' ride from Kitries. In the very centre of the mountains we passed a few cottages, at the

doors of which stood the inhabitants, gazing like a herd of cattle upon the strangers; and here, as well as in many other places, the ground shewed symptoms of high cultivation. There were olive-trees in a flourishing condition, and I think I saw a fine field of cotton, but it was too far off to allow me to speak with certainty. The corn had all been housed. This place, from the seclusion and wildness of its appearance probably, is called *Agri-Sapetheis*. The clouds, which had long been collecting, seemed now to foretell an approaching storm; they swept along the base of the most considerable heights, and occasioned great dampness. Within an hour the rain began, and it is hardly hyperbole to say, that every drop poured a cataract. I never yet witnessed such a deluge; and certainly I never wish to be again exposed to it in such a situation. We were now in our descent; and the abruptness of the path derived fresh perils from the slipperiness caused by the rain: in no part of our journey were we in more danger. The night had set in; on our left hand was a steep precipice, without the smallest protection for the foot: a fall must have dashed both men

and horses to pieces. It was impossible to ride; and in addition to the torrents from the clouds, the sides of the mountains over us poured down collected floods along their water-courses. Yet I could not help gazing downward upon the curious view which arose in "dim perspective." The clouds seemed so extremely low, and the circle of the Gulf of Coron so elevated, that earth appeared to unite itself with heaven. How far my fancies might have proceeded I know not, but I was recalled rather unpleasantly by a slip, which, but for a Greek soldier behind, who was particularly attentive to my steps, must have plunged me down the precipice. I fell thrice; but the two latter falls were unaccompanied by risk. My friends, more or less, all experienced similar disasters; but, fortunately, all escaped "scot free." We reached Siltza (mentioned in the preceding chapter) literally drenched to the skin; and at this time, a soft bed, and the comforts of an English hostelry, would probably have been preferred to the accommodations we were enabled to procure; however, such as they were, they were acceptable: we slept soundly, and at noon, next day, arrived at

Kitries, where we found the Zebra brig-of-war waiting our arrival. She had been here nearly six days. Pietro Bey received us with his usual hospitality, and listened with grateful attention to the intelligence we brought. The grimace which he made, on hearing that Ibrahim spared Maina out of compliment to the English, was truly ridiculous, and occasioned a universal burst of laughter, in which he good humouredly joined. We dined with him on a number of savoury messes, and afterwards embarked in the Zebra, which immediately got under weigh for Modon, there to await the arrival of the Cambrian *.

* It may be useful to supply the following notice of the distances along the road we travelled, as they are calculated by the inhabitants.

From Kitries to Tripolitza	20 hours
From Tripolitza to Mistra.....	12 ——
From Mistra to the Plain of Helos.....	10 ——
From the Plain of Helos to Mistra, including a slight deviation from the road.	10 ——
From Mistra to Kitries, over Mount Taygetus	10 ——
	62 hours.

The rate of travelling is commonly about three miles in the hour.

Through the whole of this journey the respect and attention of the Greeks were unremitting. We were placed in circumstances where any disposition to pilfer must have been successful, and where we could not have offered the least effectual resistance. It is true, we were furnished with the pass of Pietro Bey, and we were proceeding on a mission which had for its object the release of his son from prison, as well as that of a large number of Greeks. But the robber finds the opportunity of effecting his purpose, and has no further concern. Before he could be apprized of our views, explanations must be given; for these the mere plunderer does not wait. He is perched like the eagle in his eyrie, and the talon is fixed upon its prey before the victim is aware that he is on the wing. We slept securely in the wildest passes; our resting-place was known to hundreds of the mountaineers, who guarded them, and we experienced not the slightest alarm. We slept in houses which they occupied—our baggage scattered about the chamber; we kept no watch, we entertained no fear, and we suffered no injury. Whenever we met them we were welcomed by a respectful salutation;

when we departed it was with the kind expressions of all. One of our party, at least, who had been carried away by the wretched cant of the utter worthlessness of the Greeks, became a convert. He plainly saw that they were *not* so bad as they might have been. They did not take advantage of our situation; they neither robbed nor insulted us.

Let it not be supposed that I wish to represent this people as virtuous;—I detest all extremes. I know it to be impossible that they should be without vices; I know that portions of them have been guilty of many crimes; but I am assured also that they are not generally the abandoned beings which it has pleased their enemies to describe them. I am persuaded, after long reflection, that they are capable of becoming a great people; that they possess all the *stamina* of greatness; and that the day will arrive—sooner or later, it *will* arrive!—when the cloud of their infamy will be scattered, and that they will burst forth with the radiancy of their own luminous god. That their course will be followed by all the small fry of scribblers and praters who are incapable of taking an enlarged and comprehensive view

of men and things, is not perhaps much to be regretted. The sphere of their influence is small; and even if it were greater, it is not within the compass of the pen or the tongue to stem the rapid flow of events which are now gradually rising to maturity. But such opposition, like that of all other in the imperfect and fallible state of mortal things, has its advantages. It elicits new lights—it discovers new situations—it directs more warily newly acquired strength—it awakens dormant faculties—it combines present resources, and constrains the relinquishment of past errors and long-revered prejudices. The motives of men are not here the question: be they bad or good, their end is the same. It is *opposition* which, as Junius long ago asserted with truth, is the "thorn in the side," whose poignancy keeps the mind awake and the body active.

One thing, I confess, greatly surprises me, in the annals of the Greek Revolution. Other countries under similar exigencies, have commonly, almost always, produced some man of commanding talents—talents which have been directed as good or evil predominated in his heart. But the star of one powerful mind has

still arisen lord of the ascendant; the idol of insurrection, and the marvel of surrounding crowds! Where shall we find him in Greece? The Capitani of most name are the bane of the country: mercenary and narrow-minded, they have only the souls of pedlars. They traffic in the miseries of Greece, and they barter her liberty for gold. They quarrel, they trifle, they betray without a scruple the nation's best and dearest interests. Except in the utter deficiency of mental greatness, such men, one would suppose, could not have the smallest sway—could not form the shadow of a party. Yet is Greece deficient in intellect? Is she really destitute of mental strength? Let those who have studied her the most reply to this question. All sides admit the abilities of the people; and it is only in the lowering and degrading influence of Turkish despotism—in the general amalgamation of the Greeks and Mussulmans for so many years—in customs, feelings and laws, that I can find a solution of the mystery. To the faults and vices of the Turks, they have necessarily added the usual vices of slaves. To conciliate their masters they have crept close to their persons, and have cowered

beneath the folds of their ample garments. The Turkish faith represses all exertion of the mind; it denounces all improvement. They who do not advance must retrograde:—the Greeks are in this predicament. They have been dependent on a falling body; as part of it, they have also fallen. The mind unexercised, or ill-exercised, becomes contracted; expansive views and ennobling purposes grow foreign to its nature, and it wastes away either in brutal appetites or in pure imbecility.

But has the Christian religion done nothing for them? Has not the influence of the Gospel mitigated the asperities of their condition, and introduced a higher tone of feeling than the besotted Moslem acknowledges?—The Greeks can scarcely be called Christians. He who peruses the "*Essay on the Fanariotes,*" (which it is no small triumph to me, to have been able to lay before the public with my present Journal,) will find how they have been trammelled in the bonds of ignorance and superstition. He will there see how little they have received of the pure light of the Gospel; and by what devices, what intricate and perplexing subtleties they have been driven from the right

path. If ever Gospel missions were necessary, they are here—and were this the time for them, which it clearly is *not*, never could they be better applied. If ever a crusade were to be vindicated, on no grounds could it be so well established; if ever extermination could be tolerated, it is in order to free a crushed, a despairing, and a perishing nation from the intemperate authority of the Sublime Porte!

Monday Evening, 19*th Sept.*—The Zebra conveyed Mr. and Madame Trelawny to Cephalonia, previous to her arrival at Kitries. A few authentic anecdotes shall finish what I have to say concerning them; and I shall be very happy if I have no cause to speak of them again.

Mrs. Trelawny tells marvellous stories. One day, when she had mentioned an incredible circumstance, and doubt being expressed as to its veracity, she said, "it was no wonder; her family were noted for lying. Her father and mother, and grandfather, were prodigious liars!"

After Lord John Churchill's imprudent conduct at Athens, Odysseus became irritated at Trelawny, and determined to break off the

connexion they were on the point of completing. Upon which he entered the apartment of Mrs. Trelawny, with a little dog in his hand, and told her, that she might, if she would, make a husband out of that, for that she should never marry Trelawny. "I burst into tears," said the lady, "and cried as much as that thing full,"—pointing to a large goblet on the table. How much this is like a child weeping for the loss of a new toy!

He said once, quite seriously, that he had married her for convenience; and when he was a-weary, he should leave her. At another time, *she* protested, that if he ever assumed a European dress, she would not stay with him. But she certainly appears much attached, though, I believe, fears him.

On the death of Lord Byron, Trelawny searched his papers. Some of Lady Byron's letters he brought away, and read them the other day publicly in Captain Hamilton's cabin, at the same time stating, with the utmost effrontery, *how* he had obtained them!

Nothing is more curious than an assertion made by Trelawny, relative to the pirates with whom the boats of the Cambrian had so bloody

a contest. They were in the pay of Odysseus and *himself*, and were sent out by them to cruise, with instructions, not to be particular with regard to any flag *but the English!!*

Tuesday, 20th Sept. — Anchored off the Island of Sapientza. It was on this island that His Majesty's Ship Columbine, commanded by the Hon. —— Abbott, was wrecked two years ago. Two persons were drowned; one of them was a midshipman, who perished while attempting to obtain a miniature of his mother from the wreck. The Turks made prisoners of the Captain and several of his officers; and in the first instance refused to liberate them, unless they promised to *fight against the Greeks.* Capt. Hamilton represented this circumstance in an official letter to Lord Strangford, then the Ambassador at Constantinople. His lordship took no notice either of the fact, or of the letter. A similar thing has happened several times. Once on the subject of the ransom of the same Ali Pacha, now in the ship. Capt. Hamilton was commissioned by the Greek government to act in the affair: but his representation was disregarded by Lord Strangford. The ransom was, therefore, never effected;

though, I believe, a *French man-of-war* came down from Constantinople to attempt it.

Wednesday, 21st Sept.—Last night, and the two subsequent ones, a comet, of a pale colour, was observable between two and three o'clock, in altitude 43°, or nearly; but the motion of the water made it impossible to take it with precision. It was visible somewhat more than an hour.

Thursday, 22d Sept.—The Cambrian arrived this evening from Malta. Our late companion, Mr. Hotham, is made lieutenant. I am glad to bear my testimony to his merits as an enterprising and promising young officer. Captain Hope Johnson, second son of Sir William, and lately a lieutenant of the Revenge, is appointed to the command of the Alacrity.

The best news that we hear, is the certainty of Lord Cochrane's speedy arrival in favour of the Greeks. Few things could give me greater pleasure. We returned this evening to the Cambrian; and I take this opportunity of returning my thanks to Captain Williams and the officers of the Zebra, for much friendly attention and hospitality.

Saturday, 24th Sept.—Sailed yesterday for

Kitries, to communicate with Pietro Bey on the proposed exchange; we have received him on board to-day, (there was some difficulty in *hoisting* him up!) and anchored again this afternoon at Modon. Report says, that there has been a battle between Colocotroni and Ibrahim, who is now at Scala; that the latter has lost two thousand men. But it is needless to record such rumours; except that straws may shew how the wind blows.

Sunday, 25th Sept.—An English brig arrived here to-day from Alexandria, laden with horses for the Turks. I wish the Greeks had taken and whipped the captain soundly, at the least. He says, from six to ten thousand soldiers were waiting in the Port of Candia to embark for Modon, five days ago. I believe he is a rogue!

Monday, 26th Sept.—A French man-of-war schooner anchored here this morning. The commander dined with Captain Hamilton, and boasted, that being refused admission into the dock-yard at Portsmouth, he got in *under a disguise*. Here's no trickery!

The exchange goes slowly on; no one knows when it will terminate.

Friday, 30th Sept.—Till this day we have been kept at Modon by the provoking dilatoriness of the Bey. He is evidently "*a rogue*" also, and would very gladly send the poor Pachas to the dogs. However, the exchange, as agreed upon by Ibrahim, is expected to conclude to-day.

Here, then, I finish the *first part* of my travels: conscious of many imperfections, but conscious at the same time of never having wilfully misrepresented either men or things. I believe I do not attach an undue degree of importance to the materials of this work, when I offer them with confidence as the groundwork of history; and when I repeat my firm conviction of the truth of whatever they record. In some cases, my own observations must necessarily give way to information derived from other sources. It is clearly impossible to have been an eye-witness of every momentous fact, or not to have trusted in many respects to popular rumour. But I have never stated on my own authority what I did not absolutely know; and from our wandering mode of life,—our incessant change of situation, I have always been in a capacity to ac-

quire the most correct accounts. What we heard in one place, was always confirmed or disproved in another; we fell in with those who participated in the action, or with those to whom official communications had been made. The peculiar advantages, therefore, of my narrations must be evident: had I been stationed on one particular point—at Hydra, at Napoli, or at Missolonghi, I could only have received ocular proofs of what was transpiring in these places separately; while all reports would not only have reached me in an exaggerated form, but I should have been unable to verify or contradict them by other relations. The fact is, as the reader will have observed, we sail every where. The vigilance of the British flag in the Archipelago, has long been duly estimated; and Captain Hamilton's proceedings have not been approved by the Admiralty less for their celerity than for their judgment. Under these circumstances I commit the work to its fate.

END OF THE JOURNAL.

ESSAY

ON THE

FANARIOTES;

IN WHICH THE ORIGINAL CAUSES OF THEIR ELEVATION TO THE HOSPODARIATE OF WALACHIA AND MOLDAVIA IS EXPLAINED;

THEIR

MODE OF ADMINISTRATION,

AND THE

PRINCIPAL REASONS OF THEIR FALL;

ACCOMPANIED BY

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE ACTUAL STATE OF GREECE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

MARK PHILIP ZALLONY, A GREEK;

LATE PHYSICIAN OF JUSSUF PACHA, (CALLED *THE ONE-EYED,*) GRAND VIZIER, AND OF HIS ARMY; OF MANY PACHAS, MUFTIS, ULEMAS, MINISTERS OF THE GRAND SEIGNOR; AND OF VARIOUS FANARIOTE HOSPODAR PRINCES, &c. &c.

THE

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE following Essay, the production of a native of Tino, an island in the Archipelago, was published at Marseilles in the spring of last year. I met with it, by accident, at Napoli di Romania; and being, from the nature of the circumstances around me, attracted by the title-page, immediately purchased it. The reader is not to infer from hence, that there is such a thing as a bookseller's establishment at Napoli: the single copy, from which I have made the translation, was surrounded by pumpkins, eggs, onions, cheese, &c.—food for the body, not for the mind! I read it with avidity: the character of the details struck me as being so extremely curious, and so generally unknown, that I determined, amidst various other occupations, to find opportunities of rendering it into English. I watched the advertisements of such newspapers as from time to time we were in the habit of receiving; trusting that some more skilful hand might have made my labours unnecessary. But as I discovered no symptom of this: and as I believe the work to have been published originally for the use of the author's countrymen, rather than for the world at large, and, consequently, circulated chiefly amongst them; I have completed what I think of some utility in the present state of the Greek Revolution.

In the opinions of the author, relative to the Greeks, I perfectly coincide: with his religious opinions, arising evidently from his feelings as a Roman Catholic, I have,

of course, nothing in common. With him, I lament the dissensions of the Eastern Church; but I do not believe that the creed of the Western Catholic involves either less superstition, less bigotry, or less rancorous hostility to the faith of others. The good sense of our author breaks down many of these formidable barriers; but there are some which cleave to him, even in his own despite. However, they are few; and barely alluded to in the present work.

The ideas which I have expressed in my Journal, now before the public, are fully borne out by this writer; and they afford me another argument in behalf of the Greeks. Can a people, oppressed in such extraordinary methods, weighed to the earth by so many various despots, purposely retained in utter ignorance, and misdirected in every important point, be expected to possess much rational virtue? The Sultan, the Grand Vizier, the Fanariotes, the Greek Clergy, the Pachas and their creatures, are all interested and busied in the perversion of the people: they are all links of one powerful chain, twined in every possible variety of involution around their miserable bodies. The deadly folds of the serpents round Laocoon, are nothing in the comparison! And unless they are emancipated, how can there be a change? Will you ask health from the patient, whilst a secret hand is pouring venom upon the wound? Will you require moral vigour from the captive, enervated by moral wants and moral suffering? Surely such offensive absurdities, dictated as they frequently are by a spirit of malignity, will never be received in the nineteenth century!

Upon the eventual destiny of Greece, however it may be protracted, not the smallest doubt exists in my mind. She *must be free*, and she *ought* to be so. What! shall a nation, to whom the whole civilized world is under obligation, be the only one in the universe abandoned to a degrading thraldom? Shall the ruins of her ancient land still continue to be trampled on by the ignorant and bruti-

fied Mussulman; the only being on the face of the earth to whom civilization vainly offers her mollifying influence; whose religion is blood and voluptuousness; whose mind stagnates amid the vacancy of his ideas, and who wastes in the most contemptible frivolity, powers which were bestowed for wise and noble purposes? Forbid it justice and humanity! forbid it religion and virtue!

When the Revolution first broke out, all Europe was lost in astonishment; and, for the most part, unanimous in its applause. It was a thing unexampled in the past, as unlooked for in the present. This prepared the world for something miraculous; and the minds of men were excited to a most extravagant pitch. Hence, they are disappointed and mortified at the small progress which has since been made, and at the turn which the Revolution has taken. They expected that Greece should be regenerated in a moment; that she should arise, Minerva-like, in full maturity of power and wisdom, from the place which had given her birth!—If people would use their reason they would not be led away by such feelings: if they would compare preceding ages with the passing, and take into their consideration the variety of circumstances which sway with irresistible power the minds of the multitude, they would find, that it is by slow and almost imperceptible degrees that men arrive at excellence; that the passions which at first impel them to exertion will also impel them to licentiousness; and that they who have been taught evil from their youth upward, are likely at least to practise those lessons which they have learnt upon those who have taught them! Then let them judge between the Turks and the Greeks.

Archipelago,
5th September, 1825.

THE

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

I HAVE long had an intention of writing this work. It was occasioned by the reluctance which the historians of the Ottoman empire have discovered in treating of the Fanariotes; and more particularly of the modern Greeks. I thought that I perceived their hesitation to arise from the few memorials that they possessed, on the origin and influence which these Greeks have exercised over the progress of the Ottoman government, and over their own country.

Urged by this consideration I believe it to be my duty, for the advantage of history, to enter the lists with the present volume in my hands. Truths, written without ornament and without premeditation, will be found there. This is no work of inspiration; I present historical documents to my readers. A writer better versed than I am in the French tongue would have embellished them with all the luxury and richness of style.

Not to pause at the title-page—it will appear new to the majority of readers, and it will be seen that its pages contain thoughts and ideas as new as the title. I have remarked that historians, till now, in treating of Moldavia and Walachia, have limited their observations to the military movements of the people; and to the part which their princes have taken in the different revolutions which these countries have experienced.

It has been often said, that the Walachians and Moldavians were the most unhappy subjects of the Sublime Porte. I also assert it, but with this difference, that I make known their misery, and the causes which have produced it. Others have cited the Fanar of Constantinople; *I* cite the Fanariotes, who have lived long amongst them, who have known and studied them. I unveil what was a mystery; I inform Europe of what it was ignorant; and I do it with that integrity which will doubtless obtain for me the approbation of enlightened men.

The question was of Greece—of that Greece where I was born; of that classic land of liberty which has been so long enslaved! My love for it has seduced me into political digressions on the cause of its misfortunes, and on the events of which it is at present the theatre. The opinion of a Greek will be, perhaps, of some value under existing circumstances; although not exempt from error, a degree of confidence will, I am sure, be granted to him.

My book will not enrich French literature, nor have I written with this end: but it will augment the number of those publications dictated by philosophy and disinterestedness. In the deficiency of every other merit, it will have that of being opportune. If only one of its expressions be profitable to the Greeks, in my eyes it will equal the most masterly production.

My reader will find that I have sometimes confined myself in too narrow limits; and again, he will condemn me of dulness in certain detailed accounts of manners. But let him consider, in the first place, that my book is only an essay; and in the second, that in order to depict to him the moral physiognomy of particular men a sketch is not sufficient. I anticipate therefore the attacks of criticism, which would reproach me with having been too laconic in one respect, and too prolix in another.

If this composition offend the Fanariotes, I reply that public men are the appanage of history; that it receives my discoveries as it will collect their justification if they

are willing to produce it. As for the rest, I attack no one individually: it is the Fanariote system to which my volume directs itself. This system being the work of men, I have thought it my duty to comprehend them collectively in the criticism that I have made.

In short, this is my book—good or bad, indifferent or useful, it is before the eyes of the reader. If it do not instruct—if it do not enlighten the Greeks on the subject of the Fanariotes, on all that they have to fear from them, let them lay it aside: but if it disclose some just notions, some new ideas dictated by a generous feeling—if it may be profitable to my fellow-citizens, let them read it. It will bring its reward.

ESSAY

ON THE

FANARIOTES.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of the Fanariotes—Of the Grammaticos—Creation of the Dignity of Drogoman to the Divan—Drogoman of the Marine—Elevation of the Drogoman of the Divan to the Hospodariate—Employments reserved for the Native Boyars and Mussulmans—Places given by the Hospodar to the Fanariote Boyars—The Hospodar at Constantinople—His policy—His arrival at Bucharest—His reception—Particulars of his mode of acting and living—Of the Native Boyars—Their expenses—Their love of luxury—Of the Fanariote Boyars—Counsels which they give their Prince—Conduct of the Hospodar in his Government—The Wife of the Prince—Her revenues—Rapacity of the Boyars—Misfortunes of the People of Moldavia.

UNDER the name of *Fanariotes* is understood a class of Greeks belonging to the ritual of the Eastern church, who occupy in Constantinople the quarter of the *Fanar.* * This place is situated by the sea-side, and fronting the arsenal, the ancient residence of European ambassadors, who quitted it to inhabit the *Pera.* These Greeks exercise different professions; and particularly occupy this quarter as the Franks do the Pera. The Grand Patriarch, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and all the holy synod equally inhabit the Fanar.

The name of this residence is, with respect to the *orthodox* Greeks, what that of the *Sublime Porte* is with relation to the Ottoman government, since it designates only the abode of the Grand Visier, who has the principal jurisdiction therein. This building includes twenty-four courts, or *Kalemler,* where all the affairs of the empire are conducted.

The Turkish law denies to every Mahommedan subject the privilege of learning any languages in use among infidels; and with them the Turk confounds all people who do not believe in the *Alcoran*.

From this dogmatical prohibition it has arisen, that the Sublime Porte has always required an interpreter for its diplomatic relations. Formerly it made use of Jews, or Renegades, for the translation of petitions and other papers written in Greek or Italian; but it afterwards replaced them by Fanariotes, who are its own subjects.

The office of translator was not at first accompanied by any great consideration; it simply nominated those who were invested writers or *grammaticos*. On this principle, when a grammaticos had finished reading certain documents to the ministers he left the cabinet, and remained in the great hall, intermingled with the servants, until the minister thought proper to command his return. In the evening, after the example of the ministers of the Grand Seignor, he retired to his own house, and reappeared on the morrow at the palace of the Vizier, like their excellencies.

Under the reign of Mahomet IV., in the year 1669, a person named Panayotaki*, a grammaticos, at his return from the siege of Candia, where he had seconded the efforts of the Grand Vizier, Coprogli Achmet, made the Sublime Porte understand how necessary it was not to leave itself solely to the direct translations of Christian ambassadors. His observations pleased the ministers; and the divan having perceived the increasing interest which the office of grammaticos presented, gave Panayotaki a lodging in the palace, and elevated him to the new dignity of Divan *Terziman*, or Drogoman of the Divan. It even authorized him to let his beard grow.

* Some historians have represented him under the name of Panagioti. He was born in the Island of Scio, and died in 1673. He zealously defended the faith of the Greek church against the Patriarch Cyrelle Lucar. He had much credit at the Porte. They attribute to him a curious book, written in vulgar Greek, and printed in Holland under the title of "*Confession Orthodoxe de l'Eglise Catholique et Apostolique d'Orient.*" The Greeks have a proverb which declares that it is as difficult to find a green horse as a wise man in the Island of Scio. Panayotaki was of this island, and as he had much discretion and ability they termed him *le cheval vert*, the green horse.—UNIVERSAL DICT.

His successors continued in the enjoyment of the same advantages. They obtained even an increase of honours—the privilege of dressing *à la longue*, like the Turkish lords, with the exception of the turban, which they replaced by a bonnet furred with ermine, in imitation of the drogomans of European ambassadors. They were also authorized to ride on horse-back, and to be followed by four domestics wearing calpacs or furred bonnets—an unheard of privilege for a Greek.

The honours and advantages attached to this office excited the ambition of the Fanariotes. The richest amongst them were busied in giving instruction to their children in Turkish and Italian, for the purpose of rendering them fit for the dignity; and later, at the period of the political humiliation of the Venetian republic, in the French language; that of the Italian having then (to say so) lost all its influence with the Ottomans.

This office became so important, and was so much desired, that the Divan judged it proper to create, for the advantage of public business, the dignity of *Drogoman of the Marine*. The person invested with it exercised, as at this day he continues to do, his privileges upon the fleet of the Capitan Pacha, when that admiral sails into the Mediterranean in order to levy the annual imposts for the public treasury. Of all the Fanariotes who solicited the functions of Drogoman, whether of the Divan, or of the Marine, those who, by their birth, or by their connections, adhered to the priesthood were most sure to obtain them. They had, by their fortune, or by their situation, an immense advantage over the merchants and artisans of the Fanar. This influence they had preserved to the epoch of the last revolt of the Greeks in Peloponnesus and the Archipelago.

But it was little for the Fanariote Drogomans to exercise only by their office a command over public affairs: their ambition was not satisfied with the moderate revenues arising from their places. They required a higher destiny; and their views became directed toward the sovereignty of the provinces of Walachia and Moldavia, which the faith of treaties had conceded to the native princes. All the assistance that intrigue and address could lend to ambition was employed by the Fanariote Drogomans to accomplish their end; and the unhappy *Bassaraba-Brankovano*, the last of the native Hospodars, was deposed, and perished

miserably with his whole family, charged with the crime of high treason.

The Divan, seduced by the deceitful promises of its Drogomans, and guided by that principle of their law, that every faithful servant ought to be recompensed, enriched them with the spoils of the Moldavian and Walachian princes. It confided to them the direction of these fine provinces for an unlimited time; and Mavrocordato was the first Fanariote Greek who, in 1731, set out from the shores of the Bosphorus, in order to take possession of the sovereignty of Walachia*. It was a memorable

* Constantine Mavrocordato, son and successor of Nicholas Mavrocordato, was the last Hospodar of Walachia named by the Boyars and confirmed by the Ottoman Porte, which has since reserved to itself alone the right of giving sovereigns to Moldavia and Walachia. This prince was scarcely installed before he became the victim of the revolution, which brought with it the deposition of Sultan Achmet III. in October, 1730. He was arrested, with his family, and his property sequestered; but in the following year Sultan Mahmoud gave him his liberty, and restored his possessions and principality.

The reign of Constantine Mavrocordato has made an æra in Walachia, in consequence of the famous reform of 1730, to which they have affixed his name, and which perfected the slavery and ruin of this province. He established new tribunals, replaced some of them by military judges, deprived the Boyars of the guards with which they were wont to be attended, finished the suppression of national militia, and reserved only a small number for the civil service and for posts. As bad a financier as an unskilful politician, in place of fixing the principal weight of taxes on the productions and consumption of the country, he augmented the capitation, and farmed all the other contributions. Although the changes effected by Constantine had for their object purely to increase his revenues, his reform embraced all parts of the administration civil and military: every thing was subjected to the fiscal system.

At first it appeared that this prince had laudable intentions. He made public some good regulations; he abrogated certain imposts, and diminished others; he reduced and fixed the quota of labour which a vassal should render to his lord; he even abolished the slavery of the peasants, and yet their number, which he found to consist of 147,000 families in the first census which he directed, was only 70,000 in the second, in 1745. Toward the sequel it was reduced to 35,000, whether from the emigration of malcontents, or that many families obtained by the aid of money the non-inscription of their names on the civil registers.

But when Mavrocordato beheld himself at different times despoiled of his principality by the cabals of his rivals, he no longer discovered much delicacy on the means of maintaining himself in it; and his greatest fault was in having augmented the tribute which Walachia payed to the Porte on the accession of

period for the people of the two provinces, that which took from them their legitimate sovereign in order to deliver them up to new masters, strangers to their manners and to their wants; and who established themselves on the ruins of their privileges! But the Divan pushed not its policy to the contempt of fears which might inflame the firebrand of discord which it had cast amongst its subjects. It conceived that the introduction of new Hospodars would awake, or rather would increase, the hatred and discontent by which the demon of factions desolated the finest provinces of its empire. To obviate therefore this great evil, and to flatter the

the new Hospodar to fifteen hundred thousand francs. This measure not only raised the misfortunes of the country to their height, but it was also the source of disgrace to its author. The Turks, interested in obtaining this sum as often as possible, have continually changed the Hospodars *. The people have only been the more crushed with taxes; and the princes, disgraced, are nothing more than the farmers of the Porte, removable at will. None of them have done more injury to Walachia than Constantine Mavrocordato. Deposed in 1741, re-established in 1744, dispossessed anew in 1748, returned in 1756, repealed in 1759, named for the last time Hospodar in 1761, he was at last completely disgraced in 1763, and died, without doubt, a few years afterwards, at a very advanced age. He was grandson of the celebrated Alexander Mavrocordato, who was himself the grandson of Scarlatos, or Scarloti, who, in the reign of Amurath IV. was *Sorguj*, or *Tgeleb* of the Court; that is to say, the purveyor of beef and mutton. Alexander was nominated first interpreter on the death of Panayotaki; and his son Nicholas, Hospodar of Moldavia in 1709 †. This last died the 14th of September, 1730. The intervals of these different reigns, from 1741 to 1761, were filled by seven princes, three from the family of Racowitza, and four from that of Ghicca.

Alexander Mavrocordato, whom we have seen combatting at the head of the Greeks, descends in a direct line from these princes. His devotion willingly proclaimed in the sacred cause of the Greeks, will efface, in part, the celebrity attained by his grandfather Alexander; for this person became illustrious only by lending, in the conferences of Carlowitz, the support of his genius, to Osmaulees, the enemies of his country. The hero of to-day founds his reputation on services far more glorious: that is to say, by lending the support of his arm and of his wisdom to generous enterprises for the regeneration of Greece. He has totally lost his character of Fanariote, which he held from his ancestors, in devoting himself to so glorious a cause. His name will be one day inscribed in the temple of memory, by the side of those of Ipsilanti, Botzari, Colocotroni, Odysseus, &c. &c. immortal defenders of oppressed Greece.

* This abuse lasted to 1812. Russia stipulated in this treaty that the Hospodars should remain at least seven years in place.

† See *Histoire Universelle*, Tome xxiii.

self-love of the people of Walachia and Moldavia, wounded so cruelly, it invested the native Boyars with an authority which counterbalanced the power of the Fanariote Hospodars, in case the latter desired to encroach upon their rights. Many places were reserved for the native Boyars, such as those of grand judge, mayor, secretaries general of districts and cantons; that of governor was subject to an exception, for this office was filled conjointly by a delegate of the Fanariote prince, and by a native Boyar. The receiver general, or grand treasurer, was chosen equally among the native Boyars.

But the high offices of minister of the interior, of the exterior, of the police, the executive, the grand intendant of the court, the second treasurer, the judge of commerce, the masters of horse, the military officers, as well as a crowd of other places of trust, were given to the Fanariotes in the train of the Hospodar, who, from the time of their nomination, take the title and rank of Boyar. It is well understood, that to fill these places it is necessary to profess the ritual of the Greek orthodox religion.

The union of the daughter of a native Boyar to a Greek Fanariote entails the title of native Boyar, and the privileges annexed to this rank, upon the husband. The Hospodars are in general desirous of leaving this title to one or more of their children.

Four places were reserved for Mahommedans, as they are still, and filled exclusively by them. They are designated under the name 1st. of *Divan Effendi*, or Lord of the Divan. It was created for the purpose of watching over the execution of the Ottoman laws, and of making known whatever violations of them may occur.

2dly. Of *Becheli-Aga*. He who fills it is charged with the police relative to Mahommedan travellers, since the law of the Prophet forbids all intervention and all action on the part of an infidel, as far as relates to a follower.

3rdly. *Mechter-Baschi*, or chief of Music. He ought always to accompany the Hospodar, who enjoys the prerogatives of a Pacha, although he cannot bear the title of one on account of his religion.

4thly. That of *Standard-bearer*, known under the name of *Bayractar*.

From the appearance of this system of government, it would seem that nothing ought to be wanting to the prosperity of the people; that all the resources being well combined, and economy well administered, order and justice ought to be the result; that every thing having been foreseen, nothing could disturb the harmony of the whole. But such is the destiny of a people, that the worst legislature has frequently the appearance of perfection; and we shall soon see that this mode of organization instead of contributing to the happiness of the Walachians and Moldavians, serves, on the contrary, to strengthen the most excessive abuses of authority in the Fanariote princes, and to paralyse all the wise precautions adopted by the Divan: for we cannot but believe that it intended them for the best interests of its subjects. The system is of the more fatal tendency to the people of these countries, since the Divan itself has nothing to punish. The evil is effected without the violation of its laws, and without awakening the smallest distrust.

The prince nominates arbitrarily to all offices; subordinate, nevertheless, to certain rules, and responsible to the Sublime Porte for the actions of those whom he has raised to dignity. This responsibility would be infinitely serious if by the power of circumstances, and the influence of a general system of deception, it did not become illusory. As soon as the choice of the Divan has been fixed, and a certain Drogoman at Constantinople is promoted to the high dignity of Hospodar of Walachia or of Moldavia, the new prince takes the title of *Highness*, and is surrounded by Walachians and Moldavians* who, in fortune or credit, exercise the most influence over the Boyars and the people; and who are the most capable of creating for him a party in the province which he is about to govern. He promises to one places and honours; he offers to the other the hands of his daughters, which always accompany high dignities. But these promises and offers are often only fraudulent appearances; they are realized or not, according as they are useful to the policy of the prince.

The day following his nomination, the prince dispatches a Fa-

* The administration of the two provinces being the same, I use indifferently the term Walachians or Moldavians; as I shall give to the Hospodar the title equally of *highness* or prince, to avoid all ambiguity.

nariote to the new principality, under the title of *Kaïmakam*, who is to represent him till his arrival. The first care of the Kaïmakam is to assemble all the grandees of the country; and amongst the first, the metropolitan archbishop, who has himself possessed, before the arrival of the Kaïmakam, the authority of prince, by virtue of a firman of deposition, as we shall see in the sequel. After having proclaimed the nomination of the prince, he asks, 1st. new and complete furniture for the palace, destined for the future residence of his highness; 2ndly, an immense number of large waggons with their full equipment, which he is to forward to Constantinople for the conveyance of the prince's movables, and those of the persons of his suite. These demands, which are always promptly accorded, are made at the expence of the inhabitants.

During his sovereignty of two months at the most, the Kaïmakam, having all the authority of prince, countenances or renews dignitaries; but his dispositions place no limit to the will of the new Hospodar, and are only, that the course of affairs and the administration of justice may not be interrupted.

It is thus that the ambitious are aroused—that fears and hopes besiege the abodes of the insatiable native Boyars. What favours will they obtain of the new Hospodar? What means must they first adopt to gain his good opinion? The first, and the most effective of all, consists in magnificent presents; for presents have a magic power over the great men of the East. The richest amongst them send to him in Constantinople superb equipages, which in truth, are of no advantage during his journey, since the Turkish laws prohibit the use of them in the capital. Others send considerable sums in order to provide for his equipment. The foresight of the Boyars is so great in this particular, that they usually take care to deposit with the bankers of Constantinople, gold to be remitted—no matter to what Fanariote, who is elevated to the dignity of Hospodar, even the very day of his nomination.

All these demonstrations of joy are as gratuitous as their generosity; the people always stand behind these grandees to reimburse the expences of the ovation and crowning.

To the forecasting bounty of his new subjects, the new Hospodar sees joined at the same instant, offers of service from the

richest financiers of the Turkish empire; and this for immense sums! Such is the great confidence which the new dignitary inspires; a confidence established, it is true, on incalculable means of fortune placed from that day at his disposal. Industry, which always searches after modes of making itself known, fails not in activity. At this period all the merchants of Constantinople are seen to knock at the door of his highness, and offer to him all the riches of the Bazar. The circumstance is fortunate for them. The prince is in a situation to accept with kindness the offers which are made him from all parts; and the reason is this: the expences of equipment, the price of customary banquets which he is under the necessity of making to the Sublime Porte, and to the grandees of the empire, with the cost of his journey, absorb almost a million of francs; and usually, the new prince is without any acquired fortune. In the second place, his foresight engages him to provide beforehand against a reign which may be of short duration, in an empire where favour is often fleeting, and even dangerous.

But the crowd of merchants, as that of the makers of feasts, are nothing in comparison with that of the flatterers whom ambition and servility lead to the residence of the new prince. They have been at all times the greatest admirers of his highness; the publishers of his exalted qualities; their praises have in some measure determined, according to them, the choice of the Divan, and rendered void the pretensions of his competitors. For the jugglers of court do not less afflict the grandees of Asia than the princes of Europe; and there, as here, courtiers inundate the porticoes of the idol of the day. But if baseness and pride display all their activity, the dissimulation of the prince does not remain more idle: it exercises tacitly on these new flatterers all its power. He receives their incense, but diminishes nothing of that hatred which he secretly bears to many of them, and they are not slow in experiencing the fatal proof. At Constantinople he accepts his honours with that tone of sincerity which serves for the ornament of grandeur—with that amenity which sometimes indemnifies people of a lower station for the prosperity of the great. He promises places and honours; but at Bucharest the list of exile and proscription is established, and the Sublime Porte rarely refuses its assent to the wishes of the Hospodar.

Thus it is that one often sees realized in Walachia the great hopes which have been conceived in Constantinople! . Here every thing assumes a new face: the prince exercises a despotic sovereignty; and the passive obedience of all those who surround him is an inevitable consequence of the system of government which he is obliged to follow that he may establish his fortune on the public ruin, and sometimes on the overthrow of his creatures.

Different motives flatter, at Constantinople, the hopes of the Fanariotes who besiege the Prince with their requests. One part imagine, that in default of personal merit, their gold will conduct them to the high dignities reserved for the Boyars. They even hope to unite themselves by marriage to the family of the Hospodar. Others, inspired by a pride more noble and more elevated, consider themselves so dangerous to the power of their new master, by their genius and intrigue, that they suppose him under the necessity of removing them from Constantinople, where they could intrigue against him. This can only be done at the price of posts and honours. The noble reception which they experience from the new prince, during the thirty days * which he employs in preparations, do not a little contribute to increase their presumption, and to double the zeal with which they unite in publishing every where, how worthy of his fortune was the prince whom the Divan had just given them; and that the favour which the Sublime Porte shewed him, was only the price of his talents and of his virtues.

Arrived in his principality, the Hospodar disengages himself, in some measure, of this kind of slavery, which his political wants imposed on him at Constantinople. His most earnest care is to invest his nearest relations with the first dignities; and only to satisfy the ambition of others by the gift of places which are purely honorary †. But new fears disquiet his sagacity, with regard to those whom he has not yet gratified. For this reason he

* Term of probation ordered by the laws. The prince who should infringe it, would be subjected to a fine of four hundred francs per day, for the benefit of the kitchen of the Aga of Janissaries. He often infringes it politically, in order to please the Aga.

† Every elevation to an honorary place entails, on the part of the prince, the homage of a certain number of persons who become, by the action, subjects

adroitly feeds them with hopes, by discovering a certain consideration for the rights which they possess to the first vacant place. But after many years, ruined in hope and money, they are compelled to return to Constantinople; happy if they are able to obtain the authority of his highness to do so. This he grants them when he does not conceive their presence in the capital dangerous to his preservation.

As to the places reserved for Mahommedans, the prince takes care to render their influence chimerical, by selecting such individuals as are at his devotion; who neither have, nor can have, any will but his. For example; the dignity of *Lord of the Divan* is almost always given to his instructor, or to that of his son, known under the name of *Hogza;* and that of *Becheli Aga* to his waterman at Constantinople. This man, as we have seen, exercises the police on the persons of Ottoman travellers*. By this combination the absolute power of the prince meets with no opposition; since the influence which these Mahommedans might exercise is paralysed by the choice of the Hospodar. It is thus that the strength of an arbitrary hand is established in every despotic government, where the nomination to offices is appropriated by the prince: and above all, in those which appear to be established to oppose the encroachments of power.

The prince departs from Constantinople with all the honours granted to a Pacha †, and leaves with the Divan a representative,

and tributaries for ever to the native Boyar. Their servitude is limited, with respect to the Fanariote Boyars, to the duration of the sovereignty of their prince.

* Since the conventions, no Mahommedan can reside in the principalities, unless it is in the fortresses, whose defence is entrusted to the troops of his highness;—troops which are usually commanded by a Pacha of two tails, and not at all raised by the Hospodar. The Becheli Aga, as well as his subalterns, have then authority to exercise only in the interior of the principalities on Mahommedan travellers.

It happens daily, that the soldiers of the garrisons go out with their wives to cultivate the fields surrounding the place; but they are obliged to return on the approach of night.

† Even somewhat more; since the Porte clothes him with a kind of royal cap, called in Turkish *Kouka;* and causes him to be accompanied to the gates of the capital by a *Pack*, clad in his ordinary costume, and a numerous suite of Janissaries. The Fanariotes arrived, by this action, to the dignity of viceroys, cause themselves to be consecrated by the Patriarch of Constantinople. But the

described under the name of *Bâche Capi Kiahayà*, delegated as a medium of correspondence which should exist between him and the Grand Vizier. We shall see presently how much it imports the Hospodar to appoint to this office a man who may be devoted to him.

His first resting-place is at the village of *Avaskioy*, distant about three miles from the capital. He arranges his tents, and remains there some days in order to establish perfectly the order which ought to be observed in marching during the course of the journey. His suite is composed of two hundred armed Albanians, of the Greek ritual; and of three hundred other persons, forming his household; and that of the Boyars, who are permitted to accompany him. The vehicles employed in the transport of his movables, are usually of great magnificence.

The expedition is accomplished by short journies. The prince is preceded by one of his three tails, accompanied by a Boyar, who takes the name of *Conakzi;* and who, in imitation of French couriers, but with every other solemnity and every other power, announces the arrival of the Hospodar, and the stay he is going to make. He orders the primates to have meats in readiness for his highness, and provisions for his followers; as well as the necessary billets for the lodging of his troops and baggage. It is well understood, that all the expence, which the progress of his highness occasions, is to be charged upon the Greeks who inhabit the country. He arrives, at length, within prospect of the chief place of his principality, the twenty-fifth or thirtieth day from his departure from Constantinople. He stops at the distance of some leagues, in order that, on the morrow, every thing may be ready for his solemn entry.

He proceeds into the capital followed by all the Archons and Boyars, and soldiers of the country, who repair to him for this purpose; and we may believe, by what has just been said, that the retinue is brilliant and numerous.

The sound of bells, which echo through the air, spreads joy over the hearts of the courtiers, whilst it throws the people into

Sublime Porte, notwithstanding this ceremony, grants to them only the title of *Waywode*, and never that of Pacha, or Viceroy, because of their infidel character.

consternation. Is it possible that they could rejoice at the sight of their new sovereign, who, like a vulture, is about to cast himself on a new prey? Before entering his palace, the Hospodar proceeds to the Cathedral, to receive once more the benediction of the Metropolitan Archbishop. On concluding the religious ceremony, they hasten to his installation with the accustomed pomp; and it is then that his reign truly begins, and, in some manner, his new existence.

It has been judiciously remarked, that, in general, men, called to high dignities by the caprice of fortune, and without having received a previous education, easily assume the tone which suits their new grandeur *. This observation may be applied to the Hospodars recently elevated. At the very instant that they have taken possession of their authority, the greatest metamorphosis is operated upon them. They are raised in their own eyes even by the appearance of homage which surrounds them, and by that of so many subjects who, but the day before, were above them both in rank and fortune. The prince, after his installation, convokes an assembly. There, the *Lord of the Divan* reads, with all the usual solemnity, the firman of the Grand Seignor, containing the nomination and the powers of the prince. Immediately, the Hospodar makes a speech, in which he fails not to promise to his people a prosperity and a happiness which they have never yet enjoyed. At the conclusion, his highness distributes places and honours as it best suits his interest and his policy. But interest always has the chief part in his selection; and no new dignitary has reason to be astonished at his appointment.

The mode of the Hospodar's existence, when he appears in public and in his palace, is worthy of remark; and differs much from the tone of arrogance which usually distinguishes the great from other men. If he walks, he bends his head in such a manner, that his chin strikes upon his breast; his eyes are half shut; he feigns a deafness, which excuses his not replying to the questions which he is asked, and enables him to satisfy such only as

* This remark has not been overpassed by the observant Gibbon, in detailing the life of Nicholas Rienzi Gabrini, (Vol. xii. page 343. *Octavo.*) And he notices a similar instance in Oliver Cromwell. T.

are agreeable to him, or which appear just or easy to satisfy. He looks incessantly before him, continually twirling between the fingers of one hand a small chaplet, whilst he rubs with the other a handful of roubies, a gold coin lately struck, which he carries in his pocket. If he speak, it is in a low voice, and, so to say, noted. Were not this manner of living purposely studied, it would have nothing in it extraordinary: but in a Hospodar, it bears a very particular character which readily catches the eye of a philosophical observer. And when I said that it differed from the arrogant tone which commonly distinguishes the great, I wished only to indicate the new kind of pride which duplicity has introduced into the heart of a Hospodar.

Nothing equals the forwardness to oblige exhibited by the people of the Hospodar; and especially by the Boyars of his suite. These last betray a very peculiar eagerness to approach his person. Two or three among them seize his arms, and raise him in such a manner, as scarcely to leave him the power of supporting the ends of his feet upon the ground; whilst two or three other lords hold the train of his robe. Under this aspect of a paralytic, he passes through his apartments, followed by his servants; or he replaces, by a long pipe, which he seizes with alacrity, the chaplet, which he is almost incessantly playing with. At the same instant a huge cry, raised by a *Tchaoûche* *, is heard in the hall where the prince reposes. This cry, roused by the voice of a stentor, calls for coffee; and the coffee-maker in chief of his highness, by the single word *Coffee! Cafézi Bachi!* Then a small cup of this beverage, enriched with diamonds, is presented to the prince. When he wishes to eat, the same ceremonies are renewed. The hour of noon arrives, and another Tchaoûche makes a cry even yet more prolonged than the former; for he calls the comptroller, the pantler, and the cup-bearer; concluding with these words, "*And you, gentlemen, attached to the service of the table, make ready.*"

Scarcely is the prince at table, before Bohemian musicians, or *Tzingans* of the country, to the number of thirty or forty, but whom nobody sees perform on their instruments, (usually violins

* Master of ceremonies of the lower order.

and pandean flutes of fourteen pipes, known in the country under the name of *Miskals*,) the most harmonious airs *. They forget not, after the example of Alcinoüs, to sing to the desert national airs, in the Greek style; and it is almost always these which produce the best effect. For there is no heart so effeminized as not to possess strength enough to bound at the sentiment which entwines itself with the love of our country!

It is to be remarked, that the service, with a few exceptions, is wholly European. The prince usually admits to his table only his wife and children; and it is on particular and very rare occasions, that he invites to it the other members of his family; strangers still less. It is not usual for the prince to ask for any thing at table; all is prepared for him. Even his bread is cut into small pieces. He rejects such dishes as he dislikes. The wine is brought to him in crystal cups. The cup-bearer, or *coupary*, who is always one of his nearest relations, stands behind him, holding continually in his hand a glass half full. The repast is finished by a new cry of the *Tchaoûche* for coffee. It is then one o'clock. The Tchaoûche, by his cry, made from the window, in some sort, acquaints the whole city that his highness is going to take coffee; and that the next moment he will sleep. From that time all is calm and silent. No noise must trouble the repose of the prince, and affairs are suspended in the interior of the palace.

It is not necessary to suppose, that this period of rest (which lasts about three hours) is literally passed in sleep. The prince employs it just as he knows how, for the happiness or for the misery of his subjects. They are three hours of meditation, of liberty, of leisure; as well for the sovereign as for his servants. It is sometimes, at this period of the day, that the prince is most actively occupied. At four o'clock the sound of the numerous bells of Bucharest, which are reckoned at about two hundred, and that of the sacred plates †, of which the Moldavians have pre-

* One thing, remarkable enough, and which has always astonished Europeans, is, that these Bohemians know not a note of music; and yet execute, with extraordinary precision, the sweetest airs selected from the rich compositions of Europe!

† The use of bells was introduced at Constantinople in 831. They were invented at Nola, near Rome, about the year 400. Before this time, the faithful

served the use, announce to the people, and to the grandees, that the course of public affairs is resumed. In short, that the prince is awake.

The bells are not indeed ordered to sound for the purpose of announcing this; but their vibration says plainly enough, that the hour of repose is over, and that silence is no longer necessary in the palace.

The dress of the Hospodar does not differ from that of a Turkish Seignor at Constantinople, except in the arrangement of the head. The Turkish Seignor wears the turban; the Hospodar a bonnet, of a cylindrical shape, in imitation of the *Khan* of the Crimea. It is of yellow cloth, and surrounded with black Siberian sable in the lower part. The privilege of the Hospodar above that of the Boyars, is in ornamenting the interior of his slippers with red cloth.

The prince, and the Boyars of the first class, wear a long beard.

One easily distinguishes a Boyar above the rest of the inhabitants of the principality, by the immense size of his *Calpac*, a bonnet, formed of seven or eight skins of black lambs, flayed before their birth. This bonnet has the shape of a balloon, and is surmounted by a red tassel, which indicates the class to which the Boyar belongs. The sons of the prince, or *Beyzades*, wear the calpac equally; with this difference, that the cloth tassel is white instead of red. The ordinary circumference of these calpacs, but only in the principalities, is from sixty to sixty-five inches. That which will appear extraordinary to reasonable men, is the criterion by which the inhabitants judge of the rank and merit of a Boyar, that is, according to the greater or less amplitude of bonnet which he wears. We may conceive how much this presumption must increase the size of head-dresses; since it is no exaggeration to say, that it prevents a Boyar from admitting a friend into his carriage!

The native Boyars are, in general, very opulent. The least rich among them possess, at least, thirty thousand francs of

were assembled to divine service by striking with two mallets on certain plates, suspended at their extremity by two cords. On this account, they were denominated *planches sacrées*, or sacred plates; and known in the country under the title of *Symandra*.

yearly revenue: many realize an income of more than two hundred and fifty thousand francs. Luxury is one of the dearest delights of the native Boyars. Their expences are usually very great. Wardrobes exist among them, which represent an actual capital of one hundred and fifty thousand francs: others surpass this. If we add to the cost of the wardrobe the sums necessary for the purchase of equipages, jewels, earthenware, and moveables, we may form some idea of the enormous sums which these seignors sacrifice to the gratification of their vanity.

The Fanariote Boyars reaching the principalities in the train of the Hospodar's carriages, and come for the express purpose of amassing a fortune, immediately give themselves up to the seductions of luxury. Though destitute of real property, and in order to sustain the pride which the dignities accumulated on them by the prince inspire, they are ambitious of rivalling the native Boyars in splendour; and without troubling themselves about the future, as they discard the remembrance of the past, they greedily catch at offers of credit made to them by merchants and financiers; and by these means soon find themselves in a situation to eclipse in some measure the ostentation of the native Boyars. Vanity has even induced them to procure carriages magnificently varnished and gilded; yoked to stately horses, ornamented with plumes of feathers, and covered with rich harness. To insult public misery, or modest opulence, these modern Erichthons go coasting by the houses of the capital to make parade of their fatal magnificence. Before them flies the honest artisan; while the eye can scarcely reckon up the numerous domestics who follow their chariots.

The soul is wounded with sorrow when it reflects, that this insolence of luxury is the price of the poor man's labour; and that the prince himself is interested in its dissemination! The Boyar ministers are not slow to exercise over the prince that disastrous influence which prepares the misfortunes of the people. They know that the new Hospodar has obtained his dignity by favour, which may continue only for a day; that his fortune is to be augmented, if it is not entirely to make; that they must facilitate the means of accomplishing it, inasmuch as they are in the same situation; and that the public

patrimony is the source from whence they are to draw their riches.

There is, in all men, a sense of modesty which sways the mind even of the most depraved. The Fanariote Prince wishes to cover himself with the spoils of Moldavia; but he would do it as though he were constrained by a foreign influence, and even by the natural order of things. He desires that they should thrust the fleece into his hand. It is not rapine that he would avoid; it is its exposure. We shall soon see what steps his ministers adopt, in order to second his means of spoliation.

"You ought,"—'tis thus they basely address him, "you ought to tax your subjects heavily. They are not only able to support the burden which we propose to your highness, but they can bear much heavier. The fiscal resources are immense throughout your principality, and the wants of your people out of proportion to their incomes. The *Tcharans*, or cultivators of the land, are so temperate, that they never eat bread. They live solely on the flour of maize, with which they make a thick milk, called *mamalinga*. They disdain luxury so much, that they clothe themselves only in a simple garment of wool, of the coarsest texture; spun, woven, and made up by their wives. In subjecting these cultivators to a heavy tax, your highness will protect agriculture, and enrich the treasury: for a stimulant of this kind must drive the *Tcharans* from that apathy to which they are naturally inclined."

These counsels, which invariably flatter the cupidity of the prince, are followed to the letter. The tariff of duties to which these labourers are subjected, is so much overcharged, that they work all the year for the Exchequer; and what remains is scarcely sufficient to satisfy their extreme frugality. Thus, there is nothing so active as the Fanariote cabinet. The Genius of the Exchequer is the only genius that it invokes. The laws and regulations of its predecessors give place to new ordinances; ancient abuses are overthrown, but it is to be replaced by fresh abuses. And if some laws or customs resist this reform, they are only such as are insignificant and indifferent to the system of the Hospodar,—which is plunder.

In the mean time, the Sublime Porte, from whence this prince issues, has placed limits to his privileges. It has granted to him only the collecting of *personal* taxes; the capitation of sheep and

of bees; the working of salt mines, the imposition of custom-house duties, &c. &c. which it has valued at about fifteen hundred thousand francs.

But how is it that in a short time the prince, after satisfying his love of expence, and making the fortune of the Fanariote Boyars, and having increased that of some native Boyars, finds himself in possession of an enormous treasure? Whence is it? The fact arises, as we shall see presently, from the arbitrary oppression of his subjects; because he distrains the revenues of the rich, and the labours of the poor, without measure or modesty. The following are the principal causes of the rapidity with which the fortune of the Hospodars is made.

Since the 28th of December, 1783, the period at which, after the abdication of the *Khan*, the Crimea became a Russian province; the Sublime Porte, deprived of resources which this peninsula presented to it for provisioning its capital, turned its views toward Moldavia and Walachia, from whence it now draws corn, sheep, butter, cheese, tallow, honey, wax, building-wood for the arsenal, &c. &c. According to its usual mode of proceeding, it often sends out firmans to make purchases; and fixes, at the same time, the quantity of what it wants with the utmost price which it designs to pay. This price never rises above a third of the actual value of the object to be bought. It is always a matter of exultation to the Hospodar, when he receives these firmans. On the receipt, he calls together an assembly of the Boyars, his faithful creatures; he communicates with eagerness the order of the Grand Seignor. Let us suppose, that it contains a demand for a hundred thousand loads of corn, and forty thousand sheep. The Boyars deliberate; for it is requisite to assert according to the regulations, that the *Tcharans* and other subjects are in a condition to furnish these eatables. But the Boyars are so much interested in the result of the demand, that they declare, without examination, that the people are really in a condition to fulfil the orders of the Sultan. Immediately his highness enters his cabinet, and makes a subdivision of that sort of impost.

This subdivision, as we may believe, is not ordained by the letter of the firman. As the price granted to the inhabitants represents only a third of the value of the object furnished, the prince, a good speculator, *quintuples* the quantity; and instead

of a hundred thousand loads of corn, imposes *five hundred thousand:* instead of forty thousand sheep, he claims *two hundred thousand!* So that on this occasion he remains gratuitously the possessor of three hundred thousand loads of corn, and of an hundred and twenty thousand sheep, which he speedily converts into money. It must not be believed, that the governors of the districts to whom the orders of the Hospodar are sent, neglect to execute the subdivision made by the prince. All, similarly circumstanced, execute the order with admirable promptitude.

The Porte wishes to construct a fortress, or to repair one of those which remain on the frontiers of the empire. It requires, through its agents, from the inhabitants of the country, ten thousand workmen (for instance) and a number of waggons. It fixes the price of a day's labour for the one, and the price of service for the other. The Hospodar arranges with the undertaker named by the Porte, and fifteen hundred workmen only are employed, whilst the country is burdened with the expense of pay for the ten thousand workmen required by the firman. The same extortion is exercised on the value of the waggons and other materials demanded by the Divan. The people are not the silent dupes of these exactions, but, as it is proverbially said—" *In the unlooked for storm, the wolf rejoices.*"

It has happened that certain native Boyars, sole defenders of their unfortunate fellow-countrymen, have dared to raise their voice against this revolting rapine; but exile has soon avenged the Hospodar for that act of temerity. On the contrary, if a Boyar assist the Prince in realizing other advantages and new imposts, he is sure to be honoured with his favours, and to be forgot neither in gifts nor in kindness. All these extortions, in which the majority of dignitaries throughout the principalities concur, are realized without any trouble. The Prince affects to be ignorant of them, provided his share in the profit be enormous. The corn and cattle are disposed of either to the principal inhabitants or to the people of the neighbouring provinces, or transported over the banks of the Danube.

It will not be without use if I enter upon some details relative to the means which the Hospodar employs to augment his finances; and on this head, the following facts seem to me sufficiently curious.

The wines of Moldavia and Walachia are, by their extreme lightness, subject to be converted to vinegar. To avoid this inconvenience the proprietors of vineyards transport the excess of their provisions into Transylvania, and bring back in return a brandy, known on the spot under the name of *Rack*, or of *Hulerka*, in Moldavia. This liquor, produced by the fermentation of fruits and barley, flatters the taste of the Moldavians and Walachians. The consumption is very large, and when it is admitted duty free the price is extremely moderate; but the avidity of the merchants, protected by the rapacity of the Prince, soon finds the means of raising the price, by obtaining from him an order prohibiting its introduction. This order is always dearly paid for by the merchants. When I say the *merchants* I understand the people, since it is they who consume and who pay all the expenses of its advanced price. The prohibition causing the liquor to become rare, augments its value and the fortune of the speculators tenfold; while its fraudulent introduction draws on confiscations to the advantage of the Prince's treasury.

It occurred at this period, that the Hospodar wishing to profit by the high price of this spirit, privately became a smuggler himself. He brought into his province a quantity of brandy, which was, in fact, confiscated by the people of the custom-house, but afterwards sold for consumption without the least difficulty. This traffic, which is carried on in a very secret manner, has realized considerable sums: but since he cannot often repeat such fraudulent transactions for fear of discovery, the scarcity is still felt; sellers solicit an exemption from the prohibition, and only obtain it for a sum of money.

Another resource, which the fiscal genius of the Hospodar from time to time creates, is that of diminishing the real or represented value of foreign coin at the moment that he collects the taxes, and of re-establishing it at the period of his payments. It should be observed, that the money of the Grand Seignor, the only one which he can neither interdict nor depreciate, is of very rare occurrence in the provinces.

The Prince is, by law, the heir of every *Archimandrite*, or principal of a convent, and convents are very numerous in the two principalities. It will perhaps appear astonishing to my readers, that *Archimandrites*, since they are only the chiefs of

their community, are able to bequeath an inheritance. But it is not in these countries as in the rest of Europe: every monk may treasure up for himself. As to the means that he employs in the acquisition of personal property, I believe that they do not differ from those which have been employed by monastic orders in all times and in all places.

The Prince has no claim on the annual or eventual incomes of the monasteries of the principality; but he has a right to change their superiors, which is equivalent to a rent. The sum which he receives from the newly-elected person, in case of forfeiture, varies (according to the importance of the convent) from twenty-five to a hundred and fifty thousand francs; and God knows, if during the reign of a Hospodar, though short, the monks of a monastery long preserve their superior—above all, if he fail through avarice, in zeal toward the Prince. If the Hospodar has no claim upon the revenues of a convent he has to give authority for effecting the principal incomings, and the signature of his highness is not that of a common chancellor of a consulate: it pays itself in every other respect.

The metropolitan archbishop, or chief of the clergy of the province, enjoys an annual revenue of five or six thousand francs. His highness is his lawful heir. This office, one of the most important of the principality, is at the disposal of the Hospodar; for he can depose the metropolitan at his will. As it was granted to him who offered most, in the same manner it is preserved to him who best knows how to divide his revenues with the Prince.

There are a crowd of places beside, all subjected to venality, but which it would be too long to describe. It may be sufficient perhaps to say, that the Prince, nominating to every employment, exacts from each dignitary by law an exorbitant prerogative, and that he abuses the power that devolves to him by placing or displacing whomsoever he thinks good! When the Hospodar has a presentiment of his fall, then it is that he traffics the most in the offices of his principality. He hastens, on the first intimation of his overthrow, to convert his authority into gold. Hence we see the Fanariote princes descend from the Hospodariote to the rank of the richest subjects of the Sublime Porte: and it is not rare to observe them realize, on the relinquishment

of their power, a capital of ten million francs, if they have but reigned two years.

The employment of this ill-acquired fortune ordinarily occasions many disquietudes to its possessor; one sees him rarely, or rather never, become an ostensible proprietor in his province. Where he has made territorial acquisitions it is under the disguise of a feigned name *. If he has made deposits of money it is in the public funds of different European kingdoms. He divides his capital in order that its real amount may be unknown; in short, even the house which he occupies on the canal of Constantinople, passes as the patrimony of a stranger. We are assured, nevertheless, that he sometimes risks certain funds on the security of money chests belonging to a society of archbishops subject to the Greek Patriarch.

Women do not govern in the provinces; but, as in all countries of the world, they exercise an authority over the people proportioned to the influence which they possess on the minds of their husbands. The wife of the Hospodar has her peculiar power. She enjoys a consideration qualified by that which the prince grants to her. Her existence is brilliant, and her revenues are distinct from those of her husband. She is attended by fifty young girls, whom she has brought from Constantinople: her suite of apartments bear the title of harem; and the beauties which inhabit it truly justify this title. She receives a right of capitation on the Bohemians who are stationary, as on those who wander. She may even dispose of their persons, and sell them to the first Boyar who presents himself. This shameful traffic, which difference of colour only legitimates, (the Bohemians are mulattoes,) is exercised over thirty or forty thousand individuals who inhabit these two provinces. The right of capitation is for every stationary Bohemian two golden gros, and for every wandering Bohemian one golden gros only.

* It is common enough to see the succeeding prince exercise upon this property the most puerile vexations, which denote only baseness and jealousy. For example: he disturbs the peasants who cultivate the soil by persecutions; he surcharges them with imposts devastates their finest forests, and, without necessity, crosses the property either by a great road or by canals, or by the arm of a river. If the fallen prince resume his power, he exercises on his predecessor the same means of vengeance: between them despotism and hatred are mutual virtues.

This right of capitation is, independent of other services, stipulated in favour of the princess; for she has still various sources of wealth, which, when united, amass into her treasury an annual income exceeding a million of francs.

The courtiers, always ingenious, when the care of their fortunes is in question, neglect nothing which may present to them a medium of communication in the spouse of the prince. We see them therefore ranged about her, flattering her self-love, her virtues, her wit—and insinuating that her high qualities give her the greatest possible right to take an indirect but active part in the march of public affairs: that an infallible method of attaining it is to influence the prince in the distribution of posts and honours, by which she will create a powerful party among the native Boyars, almost as much as among the Fanariote Boyars. If these allurements are not sufficiently attractive, they discover to her also in the distribution an inexhaustible source of riches. These politic hypocrites, unhappily, but too generally, are able to circumvent the prudence of the wife of the Hospodar. For self-love, that vehicle so powerful, and so easy to direct!, would find no more resistance in the soul of a woman than for the misfortune of humanity it usually encounters in the heart of a man! It happens then, that either by weakness or by pride, the princess yields to their advice, and places all her ambition in mastering the mind of her husband. One while the prince accedes through idleness, at another through conviction, sometimes through want of reflection, most commonly through a weakness which is highly censurable in those who govern. For whatever be the spirit of justice or of order which may direct the desires of *the princess*, the people can but suffer when their destiny is entrusted to the fickleness and caprice of a *woman*. We shall perceive by and by how little the education which the Fanariote women receive in their childhood, is fitted to justify the empire they would assume over public affairs; and how fatal their influence has been to more than one Hospodar.

Luxury is the dominant passion of the Fanariote princesses: they push it to an extreme. It is true that they find throughout their court a powerful stimulant in the pride of the Boyar ladies, who seek to rival them by heaping upon their toilette diamonds and precious stones, with inconceivable profusion. Thus the

revenues of the reigning princess are, for the most part, dissipated in the same manner that they are acquired—that is to say, without shame. It happens that the native Boyar ladies effectively eclipse by the splendour of their ornaments the wife of the prince: but then these unskilful subjects are, under some pretence or other, removed from court. This exile, which entirely satisfies the vanity of the princess, is only a kind of limit which she fixes in order to obtain from Vienna or from Holland certain precious stones, whose beauty may pale those of her imprudent rivals. Then they are recalled to court, where the princess punishes them with the sight of her new ornaments.

These details, which might appear misplaced in the history of the people of whom I write, are not without interest here. They give an idea, and I will venture to say, a very exact idea, of the predominant character of the women in the court of the Hospodar; as well as of that love of luxury which is the epidemic disease of the rich people of the principalities, is one of the prime causes of the exactions of the prince, and, consequently, of the calamities of the people.

We have seen briefly, and thus it was requisite to see it, what principles and customs were adopted by the Fanariote Prince in the administration of his affairs. I believe it will be useful to recal the attention of the reader to the spirit which directs the conduct of the Boyars during the reign of the prince.

It would be a great error to imagine, that the despotism of the prince is totally independent of the power residing in the body of native Boyars, and of the sordid ambition of the Fanariote Boyars. It is not a tyranny so well established as to have no occasion for the support of some aristocracy; and that of the Boyars, though resembling in nothing,—neither in its features, nor in its excesses, —other aristocracies, is not the less one. It would cripple the prince if not gained over by being associated in his works. The native Boyars, and more especially, the Fanariote Boyars, lend themselves with much good-will to the desires of the Hospodar. Without them he could never arrive at the accomplishment of his projects; nor to that state in which they may, with some justice, surrender themselves passively to his extortions.

I am about to make known the spirit which directs the Fanariote Boyars at the period of the entrance of the Hospodar into

office; and for that purpose I borrow their own words. This, in all its nakedness, is the language which they have held under such circumstances. Exaggerated as it may appear, I entreat my readers to entertain no doubt relative to the authenticity of the expressions: they are the text.

"Noble Boyars! the period, which we have so eagerly desired, is at length arrived. We must profit by it. The rich man has only to wish; every thing seconds his views. The artisan labours for him; and it is for him that the arts and sciences are prodigal of wonders. Let us leave to philosophers the care of persuading the poor, that the life of a rich man is miserable; that it neither can nor ought to excite envy; that an ambitious man is a being not only unjust, but deserving the contempt of the wise. Friends! this moral is well enough for the vulgar; but it is of no importance to us. Let us make haste to enrich ourselves. True, we must shear closely the wool of our sheep; but what danger do we run? Shall we not wrap ourselves in the mantle of the prince? Is it not his head alone which must answer for his administration? And for the rest, does not money shield us from all dangers? Can reputation wither, while it has gold for a protector? Let us believe it: it is of more consequence to lay the hand on money, than upon the conscience."

This language, revolting as it is, I can affirm to have been held by the Fanariote Boyars. Will any one be astonished, therefore, at their numerous misdeeds; or at the unheard-of vexations which the people of the principalities have been compelled to endure?

The peasants of Walachia and Moldavia, known, as we have already said, under the title of *Tcharans*, are more particularly the objects of contempt to the Boyars. These unfortunate persons seem to exist only for the avarice of the Fanariotes. It is with mental anguish that they labour in the fields. They apprehend, with reason, that the produce of their efforts will become only the patrimony of their persecutors, For, ignorant though they be, the sense of fear is among them, in the place of reflection: and if they confound, in their murmurs, the name of the prince with that of the Boyars, it is because they are perfectly aware of their common interest in the public rapine. Besides that almost all the fruits which they obtain by their labours are, in some degree, appropriated to the treasury, their agricultural utensils are

so likewise. For the Boyars can, when they think good, employ the horses and oxen of the Tcharans for their own service, or for that of the prince; or for the carriage of building-wood, destined for the arsenal of Constantinople.

Sometimes we observe these wretched peasants, driven to despair by the harassings of the Boyars, commit the useless imprudence of going to the capital, and, under the windows of the prince, with loud cries, require him to hear their claims. After suffering them to vociferate for a length of time, the Hospodar sends a Tchaoûche to them, who receives their petition. If it contain complaints against the Boyars, or his agents, the petitioners are, by his order, cast into dungeons, where they are taught, that little people ought patiently to suffer the vexations imposed by the great; and that in the provinces a Boyar is always right when a Tcharan complains of him to the prince. By this treatment the Hospodar wishes to make it known, (although he is convinced of the contrary,) that his Boyars are incapable of abusing their power. He wishes also, by this example, to deprive the Tcharans of the desire of complaining against the Boyars, whatever may be their legal causes of complaint.

When the petitions contain nothing against the agents of his highness; when they include only entreaties for favour, or complaints of private individuals against their equals, the prince receives them graciously. If the question be a discussion of *interest*, he adjudges it in presence of the parties; and often pronounces such a decree as recals the fable of the *Oyster and the Litigants*.

There is utter confusion in the system of laws on which the common right of the inhabitants of the provinces is established. To certain Ottoman regulations, they connect the remains of the Justinian code, and an inexplicable chaos of local customs. Every prince being enabled to frame as many laws as he likes, the Moldavians and Walachians are incessantly spoliated, one while by virtue of an ordinance, at another by the simplest order of the prince, against which they can oppose no protecting law. For the law which they might cite, would always be set aside by another which suits better, either to the opinion or to the necessity of the prince. Passive obedience is then a matter of course in a country where one cannot legally disobey. Thus the mono-

poly of administration meets with no impediment: it proceeds with that assurance which certain impunity confers upon it, and which emboldens the timidity of the slave.

With all the causes of discontent which the Tcharans possess, they have not had sufficient resolution, for more than an age, to rise in a body against their tyrants, nor even to carry their complaints to the Divan. I have read, on this point, some observations in a French Journal, which it may be well to recal here*.

* "Walachia and Moldavia, which by the revolt of the Greeks, have attracted the attention of Europe, are but very imperfectly known. And as the natives have not the means of enlightening us on their condition, ignorance and the spirit of party finds a vast career to utter boldly, without fear of contradiction, whatever seems favourable to their aims. These falsehoods, gathered by Gazettes, would strengthen the public in their error, if a friend to truth had not offered the following notices, which may be regarded as authentic.

'These provinces, like Transylvania, conquered by the Dacians, and repeopled by the Romans, who have transmitted their idioms to the original inhabitants, together with their customs, forms, and names, served after the fall of the empire of the east, as a passage for the migrations of wandering nations, and as bloody arenas for the encounter of their immense bodies. During this destructive conflict, the *Romounis*, (this is the actual name of the Walachians and Moldavians,) who, under the Emperor Aurelian, had passed along the right bank of the Danube, sought for safety in the Carpathian Mountains, to which they owed the preservation of their race. The barbarians being ultimately seated in the conquered countries, abandoned these provinces as too much exposed to the attacks of aggressors, and as unprovided with cities and forts. The *Romounis*, who till then had lived as a pastoral people, quitted their asylum, and under the conduct of their princes, put themselves in possession of the countries situated between the Danube, the Mountains, the Black Sea, and the Dniester; and reinforced by their fellow-countrymen of Maramoroch, and Walachia, they have maintained their independence against the pretensions of the kings of Poland and Hungary, by retiring from the rivalry of these kingdoms. But the Ottomans passing into Europe, placed them in new danger. The Walachians, and, above all, the Moldavians, have sustained against them an unequal struggle by sacrifices and heroic deeds, of which the world is almost entirely ignorant: *carent quia vate sacro.*

'The great Etienne, their prince, fighting for half a century, humbled the pride of two Sultans, and put limits to their progress; but the fall of Hungary determined this prince to order in his public will, the voluntary submission of Moldavia to the Turkish empire, under colour of Suzeranty. This was effected in 1529, and Soleman signed at Buda the act by which he assured to Moldavia the free exercise of its religion, its laws, the administration of its finances, and the election of its princes. This was afterwards confirmed by the Porte, for which the Moldavians engaged to make an annual payment of four thousand

Their vengeance limits itself to three different means, which all turn to the profit of the Hospodar and his confidents. The first

ducats as a gratuitous gift. But this submission was of very fleeting advantage; for compelled ultimately to fight, one while for the Turks, at another to shake off their yoke, the Moldavians lost these benefits in 1711, at the time when Peter the Great, in his wars with the Porte, found, in Prince Cantemir, a faithful and enlightened ally, with whom he concluded, at Luck, a treaty, which restored and guaranteed to Moldavia all its ancient privileges, and to the family of Prince Cantemir, his hereditary dignity.

'The fatal issue of the campaign of Pruth has had a powerful influence on the fate of these two provinces. The Porte, becoming suspicious, sent there as princes, Greeks from the Fanar of Constantinople, who signalized their administration by despoiling the inhabitants, by degrading the national character, and by corrupting their manners. The nobility, divided by their cabals, suffered them to encroach on their aristocratic privileges; the cultivators of the soil were impoverished and brutified by the weight of exactions; commerce languished in the shackles of monopoly; the great wealth of the clergy, destined by the ancient princes for pious establishments, was granted to Greek Abbés, who enriched themselves to the detriment of civilization, and of benevolent institutions, which they deprived of means necessary for the formation and maintenance of public schools. Such was, during a century, the result of a venal administration, which sustained itself without and within, only by intrigues. The majority of these princes sought in revolt the enjoyment of the fruits of their rapacity. Those who supplanted them found new resources in the vanity of private individuals, whom they elevated to the rank of Boyars, at the price of half their fortune. By this means they debased the rank of nobility, incorporating a number disproportioned to the population and to the means of the country. The chief men, witnesses of the subversion of their privileges, and the institutions of their country, were almost excluded from all offices. These devolved solely upon Greeks, who flowed in from all parts, and finally put themselves in possession of all the resources of the country, and of an armed force of mercenary Arnauts. In the countries where the Greeks had found an asylum, hospitality, and the sole resource of prosperity to which their dynasties and noble families owed their titles, were at an end. Their arrogance and blindness enveloped them in a catastrophe hurtful even to the scheme of its authors, and foreign to the interests of the inhabitants who had taken no part in it; since their oppressors were not Turks, whose direct influence in the principalities was then very much diminished by the treaties and protection of Russia. The end of a revolt in the principalities, was to draw on them the vengeance of the Turks. A number of fatal contests have utterly ruined them.

'The fourth part of the inhabitants, as well as almost all the Boyars, emigrated into Transylvania, Buchovina, and Bessarabia, from whence they discerned pillage, conflagration, and massacre, desolate the hearths which they had just abandoned. The subordinate agents who remained in the country, made themselves masters of the chief posts of government; and having obtained, by

consists in the emigration of the inhabitants of the villages which border the Austrian or Russian States; but whilst they are soli-

means of the Greek Caimacan Vogorides, the confirmation of their offices, they now constitute a kind of opposition party. All this time, the Boyar, Jouan Sauddoul Stourdza, descended from the most noble family, had not quitted Moldavia. Attached to his country by the virtues of his ancestors, he served it in the midst of dangers; he constantly remained at the head of the district of which he was governor, and which, directed by his cares, has suffered least. The Turkish chiefs entrusted to him a portion of affairs, in the management of which he has perfectly answered the reputation of probity and zeal which he enjoyed.

' The Porte, being persuaded to re-establish order in the principalities, caused two deputations composed of Boyars, who were still found there, to come before it, and who, conjointly with the emigrants and the clergy, claimed from the Porte the re-establishment of their ancient privileges and national government.

' This restoration, agreeable to the new system of the Porte, to the privileges, to the wishes, and to the wants of the inhabitants, was granted them. The Porte treated the deputies with magnificence, and with extreme gentleness. It informed itself of the situation of the country, and fixed its future destiny in conferences with the Reis-Effendi, at which the Grand Seignor assisted incognito. His highness procured the necessary testimonies which decided his choice. The result was the nomination of the Boyar Ghika to the principality of Walachia, and of Jouan Stourdza to that of Moldavia. The Grand Seignor caused it to be declared that he wished them to govern these provinces after their laws and ancient privileges; that he expected, from their love to their country, and fidelity toward the Porte, the re-establishment of prosperity, and the maintenance of peace. He placed under their orders a guard who was to manage the interior policy, even to the formation of a national militia. Although the nomination of the princes, their installation, the return of the French and Austrian consuls, and the declaration of the Congress of Verona, were certain marks of the restoration of order and the maintenance of peace, nevertheless the enemies of the country continue to spread over these principalities absurd reports. Quitting Bessarabia toward the end of February, I traversed Moldavia; the most perfect tranquillity reigned there. The inhabitants consider this restoration as a means capable of atoning for past misfortunes. There were no other Turks there than those who compose the guard, and whom they hope soon to replace by a national militia. The Prince Jouan Stourdza enjoys the general affection and esteem. He is very popular; without having solicited his dignity he places his ambition in fulfilling the duties which it imposes. He knows the wounds and the necessities of his country; and he labours, without intermission, for the re-establishment of public prosperity, encouraging agriculture, economy and commerce, which begin to resume their activity. Confidence in his acknowledged justice has engaged the return of all the emigrants, even of the Greeks, who, having given security for their conduct, enjoy liberty and all civil advantages. It is false that they have been imprisoned, or delivered to the Turkish autho-

citing benefits of the emperors on the lands upon which they ask an asylum, the Hospodar confiscates their property, and imposes an additional fine upon the relations of the fugitives, because they did not make known the projected emigration.

The second consists in robbery: they become plunderers of the highway. These are usually the Tcharans of villages, situated in the centre of the principality, who take that shameful part, from the difficulties which oppose their emigration. What follows? The policy of the prince is to permit their proceedings, to favour their rapines, not only by forbearing pursuit, but also by adopting no measures to preserve travellers from their attacks. As soon as he supposes that their booty may be considerable, he dispatches against them a dozen Albanese Greek troopers of his guard; and as they are naturally not very warlike, this little body is sufficient to capture fifty or sixty. As soon as they are made prisoners, they take away their clothes, and these spoils are gain to the captors. They conduct them in chains to the capital, where the torture * is applied, to oblige them to confess in what

rities. I have myself witnessed the return of M. Benjamin, Primate of Moldavia; he was received with all the honours and respect due to his character and to his virtues. The majority of the Boyars have already returned, the remainder are also preparing to do so—to range around a national prince, so long coveted—to renew their ancient privileges and splendour—to second his benevolent views, and to watch, conjointly with him, over the safety of the country, which, in circumstances so critical, puts its confidence in the understanding and love of its children.' "—*Journal des Debats, 5th of May*, 1823.

* In imitation of the oven of the *Bostangi-Bachi* of Constantinople.

They talk much in Europe of the tribunal of the Inquisition, of its barbarity, and of its arbitrary acts; but little is said of the oven of the Bostangi-Bachi of Constantinople, where they perpetrate horrors much more satanic than in the dungeons of the Holy Office. My reader will doubtless be very glad to peruse some notices of this infernal place.

They term at Constantinople, *the oven of the Bostangi-Bachi*, a dungeon situated in a place built within the enclosure of the seraglio. Its denomination arises from the circumstance of there being built at its entrance the oven where the bread of the Bostangi-Bachi † is baked. In this detestable place are seen the instruments of every species of torture. One kind is used when the question is partial, and another when it is meant to be fatal. The torments which those wretched beings suffer who are transported here are so horrible that my pen refuses to describe them. I was once introduced, by permission, into this

† Steersman of the Grand Seignor's barge.

place they have concealed their plunder. This, when discovered, belongs to the criminal judge, called *Grand Armasi;* and he, as I have already observed, is always a near relation of the Hospodar.

These robbers are afterwards condemned by the prince to work for a certain period of time in the salt mines of the principality, known under the name of *Hócnes;* but this time is so calculated as to absorb the whole existence of the unhappy criminal; for the miners very rarely live above five years in the *Hócnes.* According to the estimation which I have been able to make upon these places, the number of those condemned to the mines for robbery amounts annually to five or six hundred, and that of the miners in general to four or five thousand.

execrable abode, and my spirit is yet troubled with the spectacle which it presented to me. I have still to conceive how men are able to give themselves up to this excess of inhumanity! And for whom would we imagine that these tortures are reserved? For bankers, stewards, treasurers, rich proprietors, and especially for the favourites of great personages—above all, for those of Pachas who have been beheaded or who have died a natural death. The object is, to obtain from them discoveries of treasures which are supposed to be in their possession, and to whom they apply the partial or the *exterminating* question. What is even more revolting, one may be carried into this place without an order from the sovereign, when the ministers even are frequently ignorant that such or such an individual suffers the martyrdom of the Oven of the Bostangi-Bachi. The subjoined is a fact which will prove the innocence of the victims who have been tortured in this cavern.

Haled Effendi, favourite of the Grand Seignor, had deposited in 1817, in the chest of his banker, a Jew of Constantinople, a sum of 300,000 francs, which was stolen during the night. A young Greek accused an Armenian banker of the robbery, named Agopzan-Agà; a Turk, brother of a Bey of Candia; and his uncle, *Curé* to the Cadi-Cioy. They were all three seized, and pitilessly conducted to the Oven of Bostangi-Bachi, to be tortured, inasmuch as they denied the crime. For three months they supported the most fearful tortures. The Curé was hung three times by the beard and by the hair. The Turk expired in his agonies. They could obtain from them only momentary confessions, which they retracted immediately afterward. In short, they discovered at a later period, that the young Greek was an impostor hired by the Jew; that the three persons who had been tortured were innocent, and that the author of the robbery was the cashier of the banker of Haled Effendi.

The Armenian banker returned to his house impoverished and mutilated by the question. The horrid spectacle drove his sister suddenly mad, and she has never since recovered her reason.

This second means of vengeance is therefere extremely profitable to the prince, since the mines are all worked for him.

The third method is, in its moral effects, very different. The Tcharans who desire to withdraw themselves from the harassing of the Prince and his Boyars, embrace the ecclesiastical condition; and as marriage, in the Greek ritual, is not incompatible with the Apostleship, we observe a tolerably large number of married Tcharans take orders, some of them as ignorant as they can well be. What will astonish those readers unused to Walachian and Moldavian customs is, that in the principalities a person may act as an ecclesiastic and a labourer at the same time. The Metropolitan receives a tribute from these peasant priests, and as the prince inherits from the metropolitan archbishop, it follows that this third mode of vengeance or of foresight profits him sooner or later.

Unhappy people of Moldavia and Walachia! this then is the system of government which directs you! In vain do you supplicate the prince: he is deaf to your entreaties; he listens only to his interest; he reigns for himself and for the relatives whom he brings in his suite, and not for your happiness. Your native Boyars, invested with dignities, are affected with stupor, and sleep in mournful apathy: your sages, whom the prince removes from his councils, shrink into a fatal insignificance; and if, guided by a generous sentiment, they would elevate their voices, their ruin and that of their families would recompense their devotion. The European consuls who reside in your provinces keep an enforced neutrality; they cannot apply any remedy to your distresses.

Dacians, your misfortunes are not yet terminated! They will endure as long as your fertile country shall border the powerful states that are upon its confines! Policy will not permit your provinces to be governed as the rest of the Ottoman empire. You are become the slaves of the Fanariotes—and the most wretched slaves which the annals of history can present!

Your chains you owe to your ignorance, to your superstition, and to your cowardice; for you are no longer the children of the warlike ETIENNE. You fly before perils, and you bow down a humbled forehead before the aspect of a despot sent from the Fanar with a horde of plebeians greedy of your gold. That gold

which they wrench from your feeble hands, is the chief promoter of your sufferings: it is invariably thrown into the balance of justice. The sole benefit which you can hope for from Providence, is that of one day having for your masters your natural defenders, the native Boyars*: beyond that, do not look for happiness. The Fanariotes are incapable of providing it for you, so long as they will not abandon the frightful system of government, which they have adopted with respect to you; and nothing proves that they can abandon it.

We have seen in what manner the Fanariote was elevated to the high dignity of Hospodar, and what was his mode of acting in the exercise of his sovereignty. We are now going to see what are the intrigues directed against him by his own adherents at Constantinople; and we shall likewise see the part which he himself contributes to his own downfall.

* That is now effected in the persons of the Hospodars Ghika and Stourdza.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Bâcha Capi Kiahaya, or Representative of the Prince at Constantinople. Fanariot's Intrigues.

It is a constant practice in the administration of the Ottoman empire, for every high functionary of the state, who resides out of Constantinople, to appoint a delegate near the Divan, who receives directly from the ministers of the Grand Seignor orders which concern his government; and who ought, in case of need, to answer the questions of the members of Divan, principally relating to the management of his principality. This delegate is called *Bâche Capi Kiahaya.*

For this reason, every new Hospodar, on quitting the walls of Constantinople to repair to his government, leaves, near the Sublime Porte, a Fanariote, invested with the title of *Bâche Capi Kiahayâ.* He usually selects one of his nearest relations to fill this important post; or, in default of such, the person whom he supposes most devoted to him; and who, by his zeal, has acquired claims to his confidence.

I call this office important; and in truth, it could not be more so, since he who is invested with it holds, if I may say so, the destiny of his principal between his hands.

This representative has about him a number of persons who receive a pay from the Hospodar: he himself possesses very considerable emoluments.

It is from amongst these attendants, that the prince usually selects a trusty person, who secretly watches over the conduct of the Bâche Capi Kiahaya; for, in this country, where intrigue and perfidy are the order of the day, there is no confidence which does not admit of some suspicion.

The representative of the Hospodar is almost always full of

occupation, if he wishes to perform his duties; for he ought, on the one side, to execute the commands of his prince, and dispatch those which he receives from the Divan; to distribute with all possible circumspection the necessary feasts to the great men of the empire; to study the character of one, and the thoughts of another, wholly for the interests of his master. On the other side, he should have his eyes continually open to the intrigues which the ambitious Fanariotes, and particularly the fallen princes, direct against the Hospodar; if, however, the last have not suffered under the sabre of the *Capdgi Bachi*. The prince is no sooner invested in his new dignity, than a cloud of envious persons immediately menace his fortune. Like greedy kindred, the princes of the Fanar sigh for his overthrow; they seize, with eagerness, every false report which jealousy brings forth. The news of the day usually announces the approaching disgrace or premature death of one of the Hospodars. But, as I have observed, that which most occupies the Bâche Capi Kiahaya of the Hospodar, are the intrigues of the deposed princes, and those of a crowd of relatives, who, by their fall, are returned to the ordinary class of Fanar idlers. The latter, by facts collected in the principalities, are always in the current of anecdote which may injure the reigning prince, and which would injure him in truth, if the credit which he possesses with the Divan was not usefully defended, either by his policy, or by his patrons.

The faithful and adroit delegate, pretty commonly thwarts all the base practices of the enemies of his prince. His policy is active, and his means of seduction more than powerful; since, as we have shewn above, the Hospodar can make pecuniary sacrifices for the preservation of his post. These sacrifices sometimes amount to considerable sums. Indeed there is no other alternative; for he cannot turn aside a dangerous favoritism otherwise than by procuring the banishment of elevated personages; except he can corrupt the affection which they bear to the enemies of the prince. We shall soon see if the intentions and conduct of the delegate never change; if his zeal be always exempt from treachery; if he do not exercise at Constantinople, with respect to individuals, the same spirit of injustice which governs his Hospodar at Bucharest or at Jassy.

As soon as the representative of the prince at Constantinople

has corrupted the protectors of his master's enemies, he rests not till he has obtained the exile or the death of such enemies; and these two means of vengeance are rarely refused to him. By expedients of this barbarous character, they get rid of petitioners whom they have sold, and appease the inquietudes of the Hospodar who has bought them.

These unsatisfactory results do not, however, discourage the petitioners. Even from the place of their exile, they follow up their ambitious projects, and notwithstanding the innumerable barriers which separate them from the Grand Seignor, and, in despite of the vigilance of the delegate, there are some who have succeeded in bringing to his knowledge the exactions of the reigning princes, whose power they covet. We ought to have lived among the Fanariotes to form an idea of the means which they employ to attain their ends. The fall of a great personage is often attributed, in Europe, to causes highly political, whilst it is frequently the consequence of well-timed respect; of a skilful but treacherous insinuation; or of gold profusely disseminated.

They have formed in France, as in other places, a strange idea of the system of government pursued by the ministers of the Divan. I have heard men of superiour intellect, reason diplomatically on the exile or decapitation either of a Vizier, or of a Pacha, or of a Hospodar; and wish always to attach a similar event to certain political causes. Their error proves their ignorance of the principles which direct placemen in the Turkish empire. They imagine that order of some sort governs their actions; and as all is subordinate among them to the justice and harmony of the laws, they conceive that it must be the same at Constantinople, or in any other city of the Ottoman dominion. This is not the case: the Turkish minister obeys only his own interest; he cannot be either the slave or the guardian of laws that do not exist. He effects the deposition or the death of a noble without subjecting his will to political conveniences, or to the laws of justice. He yields to his avarice or to his private animosities; and the greatest catastrophes are not usually any more the consequence of general interests, than the splendid fortunes of which he is the architect are the result of services rendered to the public cause. This truth explains the frequency of the rise and fall of fortune which we remark throughout the

extent of the Turkish empire. It is to the omnipotence of the grandees of this empire that we must attribute it. But foreign ambassadors, or Chargés d'Affaires, specially designed to follow up events of this nature, usually neglect to examine into the private circumstances of the lives of these dignitaries: and yet they almost always govern the great events of which the age is witness *.

The Fanariotes are very skilful in the art of circumventing the high personages who may serve their projects. They know all the ways which should be followed in order to make themselves masters of their minds. This dexterity constitutes their strength; for it is not enough to invent a machine, we must also make it serviceable.

The Turks never despise the friendship of the Fanariotes, because they are aware how useful they may prove to them. If their pride and their religion prevent them from soliciting it; their policy teaches them, on the other hand, never to refuse it. They know that it is through the Fanariotes, the greater part of offices

* I have nevertheless known in Constantinople a skilful diplomatist named Franchini (Francis)who had long been a distinguished Drogoman of the French embassy. He is perhaps, of all men attached to legations, the person who has best studied Turkish diplomacy, and who has exercised the most influence over the Ottoman ministers. Profoundly versed in affairs, he has often directed them with an address which has been always beneficial to his sovereign, and useful even to the Sublime Porte. He has not neglected the peculiarities which bind things to men. Insinuating and dexterous, he even penetrated into the thoughts of the members of Divan. Nothing escaped his sagacity; and as soon as he judged such a measure necessary, he discovered much talent in bringing it to pass. He knew, as well as it was possible to know them, both the Fanariotes and their policy. He divined their intrigues, and traversed them with exquisite finesse when the necessities of his political relations demanded it.

This skilful person has not appertained to the French embassy for some years. The Russian legation is enriched by the acquisition. I am assured that high political considerations have lost to France the support of the knowledge and experience of this learned diplomatist.

He is perfectly seconded by M. Antoine Franchini, his brother, who, educated with him, was his inferior neither in address nor in knowledge. All Turkey knows the brothers Franchini; and they never speak of them in these countries without doing homage to their merit.

I pretend not to glance, by this eulogium, on the persons at present attached to the French embassy, to whose merit I render the most disinterested respect.

are obtained; and as the law declares all Mahommedans fit for the different dignities, the Fanariote protection is a motive of hope to every Turk.

It is not with the Ottoman government as it is with the government of other monarchies in Europe. Here nobility forms not an exclusive title to the attainment of places. To secure them, it is only requisite to gain distinction, whether well-merited or not. The Fanariotes possess, in the highest degree, the art of framing them; of teaching the means by which they are to be procured. And as they are unqualified, in their character of *infidels*, for holding high dignities, the Turk whom they place in them, must act in their favour, if he would not be overturned by the same hand which has elevated him. Here then is the grand secret which explains the continual intrigues of the Fanariotes. Indeed, the concealed influence of this powerful party is incalculable. As it directs the affairs, it knows their course and divines their results. Its chief leaders possess, pre-eminently, an infinite foresight *.

* I have had the means of appreciating this infinite foresight of the Fanariotes through my connexion with one of their principal leaders; and the subjoined is the manner of it.

I was, in 1810, physician to the Grand Vizier Jussuf Pacha, surnamed the *one-eyed*, and lived with him in the general quarter of the Schumla. Being one day in company with the Prince Demetrius Morousi, first Drogoman, I saw M. Pepen, a French officer, enter. He came to receive an answer to a request which he had made to the Grand Vizier the day before, relative to transporting by sea ten thousand men along the coast of the Crimea, to master, by a *coup-de-main*, that peninsula; as the Russians did in 1783. The success of this enterprise would have compelled Field-Marshal Kamensky to detach a body of the troops which he commanded, and which were opposed to those of the Grand Vizier; a force at least equal. This diversion would have considerably weakened his means of attack. The Grand Vizier rejected the proposal. The French officer, irritated at his imprudence, took leave, observing, that he was sorry the Sublime Porte made generals of men who were so little versed in military science.

This exclamation displeased the Drogoman. It wounded his self-love; and, turning to me, he explained some inconveniences which the plan of the French officer presented; some difficulties which were opposed to its execution; and the dangers into which this body of troops might run, in case it did not succeed. He made use of an old Greek proverb on this point, which says, "*That a fool knows his own house better than the wise man knows it who is his guest-hour.*"

He soon changed the subject of conversation; and entered upon the policy of

The law which removes the Fanariotes from the high dignities of the empire, augments their power; and the expressions of the

the Fanariotes. "Are you willing," said he, "to be instructed in this policy, and understand its secret influence on the progress of affairs? My friendship for you induces me to assent." I readily accepted this offer, for it piqued my curiosity. "Well then," he continued, "hear the predictions which I am about to communicate. You observe that *Achmet Agà*, ex-governor of Ibraïl. To-day he is no more than a simple officer in our army: he will presently become Grand Vizier.

"That *Raab Effendi*, secretary of our Vizier, will, one day, replace his master. That *Benderli Ali Agà*, a mere soldier, will, one day, rise to the rank of Grand Vizier.

"That inspector of the shambles, on whom our notice is scarcely cast, *Hassan Agà*, you will see him, before long, elevated by the Grand Seignor to the rank of Pacha.

"As for *Galib Effendi*, whose goodness and talents are admired by Mussulmans, and who alone, amongst his rivals, is able to hold the reins of office for foreign affairs*, you will see him, on the conclusion of the war, named Pacha of one of the most miserable provinces of Asia, through the influence of the favourite Haled Effendi, his antagonist, who would remove him from the capital. But in the first war that the Sublime Porte shall have to support, this inestimable man will be named Vizier, and succeed to all the credit of *Haled Effendi*, who will have disappeared.

"As for Prince Alexander Suzzo, as long as I live, you will never see him reinvested in the Hospodariate.

"The virtuous *Mouhib Effendi*, our ambassador at Paris, will not be happier than you on his return."

I could not refrain from smiling at the prospect of all these predictions: they appeared to me adventurous. Morousi perceived it, and asked me the occasion. My lord, I answered, you remind me, at this moment of *Zambullo*, whom Asmodeus placed upon the roofs of the houses of Madrid.

"Do not compare me," said he, "to Belphegor. But I observe that you do not quite fathom my meaning. In order to pay you back learning for learning,

* Galib Effendi really possessed the esteem of the Osmanlees, and particularly that of the Janissaries. He escaped, by a kind of miracle, a massacre which the latter occasioned in 1807 of the principal creatures of the unfortunate Selim III. Ready to fall beneath their blows, he adroitly made them perceive of what utility he could be to the Sublime Porte in case it was called upon to treat with foreign powers. His discourse had a good effect; and it was sufficient for one favouring voice to be heard, to draw together all the Janissaries who were reunited, on a public place, to the number of 80,000. Galeb Effendi was spared. We have seen, latterly, this extraordinary man, called from the Pachalik to the Vizierate; but they apprehended, as it seems, his influence on the formidable Ottoman militia; and his recal has not happened. I believe this circumstance favourable to the Greek cause. Galib Effendi would have been able to conduct a powerful army against them. Notwithstanding a degree of mildness which they attribute to him, he is not the less zealous Mahommedan; and the most skilful politician that the Ottoman diplomacy can present.

Koran render it invincible. The Ottomans will be subject to this power as long as their barbarism shall impose limits to the progress of civilization. It will be, by the necessity of things, the regulator of the destinies of an empire which has forgot the genius of Selim III. It will survive the pride of the Seraglio, the indolence of the Viziers, and the arrogance of the Pachas. But before this power shall be effectually restrained, disorder will overrun the empire; because the intrigues of ambition are the scourges of the people: they vitiate every thing, and pay regard to nothing.

I will terminate this conversation by citing some verses of Voltaire on policy; and then you will understand me.

" Fille de l'Intérêt et de l'Ambition,
D'où naquirent la Fraude et la Séduction;
Ce monstre ingénieux, en detours si fertile
Accablé de soucis, paraît simple et tranquille;
Ses yeux creux et perçans, ennemis du repos,
Jamais du doux sommeil n'ont senti les pavots,
Par ses déguisemens, à toute heure elle abuse
Les regards éblouis de l'Europe confuse;
Toujours l'autorité lui prête un prompt secours;
Le mensonge subtil règne en tous ses discours;
Et pour mieux déguiser son artifice extrême,
Elle emprunte la voix de la Vérité même."

The Drogoman here finished his discourse; and his predictions having been for the most part realized, I have found reason to regret, that M. Pepin did not return to the camp with new projects. Perhaps his second appearance might have elicited from the Drogoman new prophecies.

But what he did not predict, was his own tragical end with that of his brother, and the influence his death had on the non-fulfilment of a part of his predictions. I saw, afterwards, that his own personal policies were not alien to what he had said. I did not overlook that portion which related to myself. To a degree, I followed the counsels which I had claimed of his friendship; and it happened, that I was made perfectly welcome at Constantinople by the grandees of the empire; and that I escaped very happily the snares which the Fanariote policy might have laid for me.

What he had declared with relation to the favorite Haled Effendi, was verified only in part. Haled Effendi shone a long time after the premature death of Morousi, his secret enemy. His power, sustained by the Fanariote party, was weakened only by the defection of Prince Michael Suzzo, his last master in Fanariote policy, who abandoned him to his narrow genius, and to his incapacity to repress the revolt of the Greeks. It ended in his decapitation, required by the Janissaries in 1828.

To neutralize their ravages, in default of knowledge, the Sultan's ministers should possess virtues, if I may say so, almost superhuman. These alone could put a stop to banishment, and to arbitrary executions; wretched resources of which the shame, in the eyes of the world, redounds upon their true authors. For if we could ascend to the fountain of these acts of tyranny, we should discover, I doubt not, that the Viziers have been often only the innocent auxiliaries of the Fanariote party. This again has itself sometimes been only the auxiliary of a certain power whose policy constrained important sacrifices, and which found in the Fanariote party an ally the more powerful, because it was invisible. And if we could ascend yet higher, we should be astonished to discover, that the blood of the people has often flowed on the field of battle, only through the influence of the Fanariotes; and that the sanctity of treaties without their protection, has had neither force nor virtue!

On the other side, the Divan, deprived of the knowledge which characterises the principal agents of this party, would no longer possess the guidance of diplomatic science to oppose to the Machiavelianism of European cabinets. For, in our days, diplomacy is reduced to fixed rules which call for intense application. The Turks are little familiarized with political subtilties. The Greeks are more so, who were, from all times, celebrated for their cunning; and who are besides better acquainted with various modes of government; are better prepared by previous instruction, and by the vivacity of their judgment, to divine the object of different cabinets, and to appreciate their pretensions. Without the assistance of the Fanariotes, the Turkish government could act only by instinct, or by the influence of such and such a cabinet; and if it happened, as it possibly might, that its distrust extended over all the European cabinets, the safety of the Ottoman empire would become the work of a blind destiny.

Such is the unhappy situation in which the successors of Mahomet II. find themselves. It has resulted from that passive obedience to the laws of the Koran, which forbids their advancing with the progress of ages. Civilization is stopped amongst them, whilst through all Europe it has proceeded with giants' steps; and if the Sublime Porte contain in its bosom subjects who know the benefits of civilization, it is precisely among those whom it

treats as infidels, and who are interested in its abasement, either to triumph completely over it or to exercise a sovereignty whose existence it can scarcely suspect.

Who shall pretend, in such a state of affairs, to foretel the future condition of this vast empire, unless it be one whom circumstances have so placed as to enable him to see every thing with his own eyes, and to examine every thing for himself? I have lived among the Turks, and I know that their ignorance, in all that relates to legislation and government is the most perfect that can possibly exist! I have lived among the Fanariotes; I have penetrated into the secrets of their policy; and I do not hesitate to acknowledge, that it has usurped the Ottoman power; that it alone directs all the resources which put it in motion; that the Sultan himself can act only by its impulse. I have wished to know, at the same time, if this policy had a generous end: I have discovered nothing but iniquity. In the place where justice and virtue should bear sway, I have perceived, exclusively, despotism and vice; every where the love of riches, but no where a noble sentiment of glory. I have seen the Fanariote Princes always discontented with their destiny, prefer the unquiet life of a courtier to the peaceable existence of a private man; and more occupied with contriving the fall of a grandee, who overshadowed them, than with their own preservation: as turbulent as insatiable of honours and power. These same princes have made intrigue the soul of the Ottoman government; and they have impressed such an impulse upon the vital principle, that every thing proceeds by it. It is intrigue which names the Cadi; and it is intrigue which decapitates the Vizier.

But these Fanariotes, some one may say, whom you treat with so much contempt, and whom you honour with so much power, where are they? Europe does not know of their existence. You yourself establish their celebrity.—The objection is easily answered. I conceive that with those who have no interest in following up the chain of events which are succeeding one another in the interior of the Turkish empire, who have, in some measure, judged only the results of such events, it may arise from the want of exact notions, or it may arise from indolence of mind. Let them read this Essay with attention, which I have written as materials for history, and they will understand the Fanariotes.

Let no one criticize too severely the minute details in which I am obliged to enter; and above all, let them refrain from thinking them unimportant or exaggerated. Every thing is interesting in a new subject; and, in my opinion, that person who should censure these details, would commit the same injustice that would be committed with respect to an artist, by him who despised the clouds and accessaries of his picture representing an historical fact. My Essay is such a picture: it is necessary to give my personages their proper aspect, and to make use of local colours.

Craft is the favourite weapon of the Fanariotes: they invest the person whom they wish to make use of as a skilful general invests a place that he beseiges: they study his weak side.

This grandee of the empire loves praise; there is no base cajolery that they do not heap upon him.

Another has in his harem a daughter whom he loves, a favourite whom he adores. At the same time the wife of a Fanariote embroiders with her own hands, or causes to be embroidered, the richest stuff, the most elegant tissue, which she presents under colour of respect. As the love of ornament is the weakness of all women, the new gift overjoys the harem, and the smile of acknowledgment is on the lips of the Vizier or the minister.

The Fanariote wants credit with a Mussulman who obeys only the impulses of his timorous conscience—who rests with blind submission on the laws of the Koran. In a word, his piety is incorruptible, and on that account purely averse to any intercourse with an infidel. The adroit courtier of the Fanar informs himself to which of the twelve sects or *Tarichs* he belongs; he insinuates himself into the favour of the *Dervishes*, and catches, by their mediation, the confidence and friendship even of the pious dignitary.

Some other seignor has a taste for the productions of European industry, for objects which please by their novelty or by their rarity; or he devotes himself to the cultivation of natural history, &c. &c. That instant, the Fanariote hastens to lay before him whatever may flatter his propensity. This is one of those methods whose effects are the least doubtful.

The Fanariote princes have been known to raise, at their own expence, magnificent kiosks for the Turkish lords who had but

testified the least desire for these sort of pavilions; and they were constructed with so much precaution that, excepting the nobles to whom they were dedicated, no one suspected that they were raised at the cost of a stranger.

As for gold and precious stones, the seignor who asks has only the trouble to receive them.

But one of the methods which the Fanariotes frequently employ, and with a success that has never failed, is that of enabling the Turkish nobles to augment the revenues of their governments. For example: a Fanariote prince who solicited great favours from a Vizier, one day advised the following measure of finance. He caused him to suspend the forty barrats or warrants, and the twenty-four firmans * which the Sublime Porte grants to every new European ambassador, and to create others, which each Raya should purchase at the price of five thousand piastres; and to urge the Rayas to provide themselves with these new vouchers, he engaged him to augment the law of capitation to which they were subject. This measure was, for the moment, beneficial to the imperial treasure, for it enabled him to provide for the expences of a ruinous war. It also made the fortune of the Fanariote who had suggested it.

Another Fanariote counselled a Vizier to increase the tribute exacted of the mining provinces; persuading him that this augmentation was not beyond the means of those who had to contribute it. The Vizier profited by the advice he imposed so much upon the miners that they were obliged, in the deficiency of mineral produce, to melt dollars. Without this they would not have been able to furnish the marks of gold or silver which were required of them. The Rayas of these provinces were unfortunate; but the Fanariote who was the origin of their misfortune enjoyed, at Constantinople, much credit and wealth.

As Ottoman diplomacy is often confided to unskilful hands—to men very little acquainted with the science of government, by no means masters of the present, and wholly ignorant of the past, it happens that ancient treaties and conventions which stipulate advantages in favour of Ottoman subjects, have lapsed into for-

* These barrats and firmans exempt those who bear them from the laws of capitation imposed upon the Rayas, (Christian subjects or Jews of the Sublime Porte) and assimilate them with persons attached to foreign embassies.

getfulness. The Fanariotes, who forget few things, because they make *memory* a branch of their assiduity, understand dexterously to recal to such and such a Vizier certain favourable clauses of treaties which he appears to neglect. This policy is so much the more skilful, since it presents two circumstances of real utility to the Vizier; that of making him appear versed in diplomacy, and thereby justifying the choice of the Sultan; and that of attracting popular favour by the performance of clauses which Mussulman interest required.

There exists in France, as elsewhere, a crowd of small closet diplomatists who weary ministers with schemes of finance—with projects of improvement—with reports, and political reflections on policy. At Constantinople they are generally the Fanariotes who inundate the courts of the Sublime Porte with this sort of writings, but varying in one respect, that they do it with more success. For the Ottoman ministers are curious in things of that nature, which preclude the necessity of some reflection and some research. If there appear in any foreign journal an article interesting to general policy, the Fanariote courtier takes care to place it before the eyes of the Divan. He finds in it something analogous to the interests of the Sublime Porte: he adds his reflections, but craftily leaves the honour of the discovery to the great man whom he designs to benefit by—if that be not the whole Divan.

The Fanariote party is otherwise very essential to the Divan: by its means information is conveyed relative to what is passing in Europe. The most part of consuls and Ottoman chargés d' affaires in the different ports of the Mediterranean and of the ocean are connected with the Fanariotes; and hence they are informed of every thing.

At Vienna, as in the principal cities of Germany and of other empires, a considerable number of Greek bankers correspond with the Fanariote princes—doubtless with praiseworthy intentions, and in ignorance of their perfidious policy.

This party in short, whenever it has willed it, has saved the Turkish empire; as, whenever its policy seemed to demand the sacrifice, it has very nearly proved its destruction.—We have seen how it acts upon the Ottoman government, let us now see how it acts upon itself.

When the Fanariote princes who have filled the Hospodariate return to Constantinople their condition becomes extremely perilous; they possess great riches, and their vanity is increased by a reign of short duration in truth, but so absolute that they support with difficulty the nothingness into which they have relapsed. They encompass themselves, as an ingenious writer has said, with the honours which they have enjoyed; they cause themselves to be styled *most serene highness*, and appear still to command where there is nobody to obey. We have shewn above, that they are incessantly striving to regain their power, and their intrigues are what chiefly occupy the vigilance of the delegate of the reigning prince at Constantinople.

The reader recollects that exile and death are very usually the consequence of their intrigues.

It will not be forgotten that I have suffered suspicions of treachery to hover over the head of the representative of the Hospodar; these suspicions should be explained, and this I shall endeavour to do.

It is not always with a design to be useful to his employer that the Bâche-Capi-Kiahaya solicits the exile or the death of an Ex-Hospodar; it is equally to serve his own particular projects of ambition that he acts; for he also wishes, in his turn, to govern one of the provinces, and the fewer competitors that there are to conquer, the greater will be his chance of success. And thus his arms are traitorously directed against the very person whom he is hired to defend and to second. And it is not without example in the annals of the Ottoman history, that these base conspiracies have turned to the disadvantage of their authors. The reigning Hospodars have been known to recompense with death the calumnies which they have directed against their competitors, and the vengeance of the Vizier to extend itself even to the Bâche-Capi-Kiahaya. The ordinary series of events brings the exiled princes into these provinces.

One remarkable fact which results from the observations I have made is, that commonly the Hospodar princes who have reigned over the two provinces were men of very moderate understanding; while, on the other hand, their representatives at Constantinople ranked amongst the best informed Fanariotes, who possessed to an eminent degree the knowledge of intrigue

and of action so necessary to courtiers. It is to them, therefore, that we must attribute the disturbances excited against dispossessed princes, and a large part of those which have occasioned the fall of the reigning princes. They have even been observed by their single influence to maintain in favour a Hospodar, who would without them have fallen under the weight of accusations, true or false, ascribed to him by powerful enemies. This latter instance has been most frequent in the families of Morousi and Ipsilanti; who have always taken care to select from amongst them the person who should be their representative at Constantinople; and (which is more) those amongst them who had the most talent. Thus their reigns have been the longest and the least turbulent.

It has been stated that the Hospodariate was granted in recompence of services rendered to the Sublime Porte by the Drogoman of the Divan. We must expect then to see this dignitary intriguing to obtain so magnificent a requital. And to intrigue so much the more, that the princes who have already reigned place themselves on the list, and dispute with him the victory.

When the Drogoman of the Divan demands the Hospodariate he addresses himself to one of the prince's representatives, whom he engages to accept the Drogomanate, on condition that he will not oppose his wishes—the more that it is not the principality of his employer that he solicits. If the offer be accepted, and the Drogoman nominated Hospodar, the representative becomes, by that alone, Drogoman of the Divan, without losing his office of Bâche-Capi-Kiahaya, if he do not acquire the honour of representing the two princes.

But some months after his installation, the new Drogoman grows ambitious, in his turn, of obtaining the dignity of Hospodar; and from the situation of affairs, it is the principality of his employer that he must solicit. To effect his overthrow he has recourse to stratagem rather than to violence. He writes from Constantinople to his prince that his influence with the Divan is considerably weakened, whilst that of his enemies has increased to a formidable extent: he represents that it would be an act of prudence to resign voluntarily. By these means he would escape the shameful consequences of a deposition, which he

wishes to believe doubtful, but which, from all appearance, is inevitable and at hand. This fallacious advice succeeds or not: that is, the Hospodar follows it to the letter, or pays no regard to it.

On the latter supposition, the Drogoman takes a violent part. He declares in the most formal terms to the Divan, that he resigns his post of delegate to the prince, because he has reason to apprehend that his highness has commenced a criminal correspondence with the powers of Europe; and that he considers as probable his flight to the frontiers, and the secretion of his treasures.

The Sublime Porte, always suspicious, deposes the accused Hospodar, and dispatches a Capidgi-Bâchi to behead him. Many princes, generously forewarned, either by the Fanariotes or by some zealous friends, or by their delegates themselves, have avoided the sabre of the Capidgi-Bâchi *.

The Divan, to recompense the fidelity and the zeal of its Drogoman, appoints him successor to the prince whom his treachery has just sacrificed. He sets out to take his place, but has scarcely occupied it a moment, before he is chased away by the intrigues of the Fanariotes, and often by the same means, and the same course of proceeding, which he himself made use of to overthrow his predecessor.

I have heard that gold was the nerve of intrigue: no part of this axiom finds a more just application than in the secret practices of the Fanariotes; yet we have seen princes who were totally ruined find expedients to re-establish their fortune. I will state one of them, which has often been put in practice.

To obtain the good opinions of persons who exercise an influence over the Divan, in a word, over its favourites, a prince gives to many of them bonds to the amount of one hundred thousand, and even one hundred and fifty thousand or two hundred thousand francs, payable in six months, on the express condition that during this interval he shall be promoted to the Hospodariate. When once

* A motive of this kind has occasioned the emigration of different Hospodar princes, and particularly of Ghika, Manòl-Vodà, Suzzo, Ipsilanti, Caratza, &c. &c. The letters which forewarned them of the mission of the Capidgi-Bâchi were always written in cyphers.

these bonds are accepted, the steps to obtain the nomination are traced to the favourites. They take care to fortify themselves with numerous accusations produced by the native Boyars, and to place near the Vizier zealous and complaisant friends who expatiate on the great advantages which the deposition of the reigning prince, and the elevation of him whom they propose in his place, will confer. Hurried away by their arguments, the Vizier puts the prince in a situation to fulfil his engagements *.

But these means, which some have employed, do not always produce the same result. Grand Viziers have been found who are incorruptible; who, either to satisfy their consciences, or to obey the behests of policy, have refused depositions so basely excited. I say to obey the behests of policy, because, often enough, the Hospodars receive protection from Christian courts; and it is sometimes useful to assign an ostensible motive for depositions, which, from the topographical situation of the provinces, cannot be indifferent to certain cabinets.

Another proceeding which equally engages the attention of the Fanariote princes who solicit the Hospodariate, is that of drawing after them a considerable throng of creditors, real or fictitious, and causing them to besiege the person of the Sultan when he proceeds, as usual, every Friday to the Mosch. His highness, touched with the precarious situation of these princes, orders them to be named Hospodars, for the purpose of enabling them to pay their debts. This method does not always prosper; but it is enough that there are some instances of success to authorize its introduction here.

The fact is this: the Fanariotes are incessantly given up to the demon of intrigue;—by that only they exist. They spare not themselves; they are eternally occupied with the elevation of their own party, and the overthrow of their princes. Thus there

* The favourites and agents of the Sublime Porte are subject to vicissitudes in their offices: that is to say, to frequent, and sometimes dangerous, disgraces. Then the Fanariotes, who have given them money, find themselves eventually deprived of their property and of their hopes. This often happens at Constantinople. The period of their influence being very short, the favourites sell their good offices dearly; and as their change is incessantly renewed, the solicitors of the Hospodariate often ruin themselves without accomplishing their ends.

is among them a continual contest of ambition; and we may say with strict propriety, that they often conduct their hero in triumph to the capitol, to precipitate him afterwards down the Tarpeian rock!

Let us proceed, and we shall see them exercise their calamitous influence over the Greek nation.

CHAPTER III.

Influence of the Fanariote party on the destiny of the Greeks—Discourse on this topic with the Archbishops Nicomedias, Dhercon, Sophias, and Thessalonicis—Confidence of the Greeks in this party—Mania of the Greeks for changing their patronymics.

In all states, the ministers of religion have a real power over the people. If this power did not exist, religion would lose its political strength, and its effects would no longer assist legislation. The influence of the clergy is then one of the useful bases upon which the stability of empires rests, so far as it does not place itself beyond the circle of their prerogatives, and as it makes a part of institutions which guard the rights both of prince and people.

The policy of malicious men has always been to debase the clergy in the eyes of the people; thereby to diminish the influence which they might exercise over them, whilst they inculcate the observance of sacred principles. For I speak under the presumption that the ministers of religion are without ambitious designs.

It is to debase the clergy to place them too much in dependence on authority: that is to say, to point them out to the people as interested in supporting unlawfully the views of power, and in giving to them other rights over men than those which are written in the Gospel. To uphold the sacred character of an Apostle we must not let it be dishonoured by associating with it the unlimited authority of a Pacha. Riches and worldly honours ought not to fall equally to the share of the priesthood; they are as unnatural as extreme misery and degradation.

There is no question but that in this light the policy of the Ottoman emperors has been desirous of giving wealth and power

to the principal members of the clergy of the Orthodox Church. By this means they have made them instruments of their tyranny, for the eye of the philosophical observer may remark in each patriarch and bishop so many Muftis and Mollas.

As the policy of the Divan, which was that of the Prophet of Mecca, is to hold the people in ignorance, in order to render it more tractable, the policy of the eastern church must be compulsively the same. In effect it is so. We may judge of it by the situation of the people of Greece with regard to instruction. The ignorance of this people is so much the more fatal since they are divided by religious opinions; and excessive acrimony reigns in their disputes.

It has not remained at this day with the Fanariotes to put an end to the division; or to speak more accurately, to destroy, by enfeebling it, the party who maintain the *Catholic* dogmas; for they have always intrigued to set their church above that which acknowledges the Pope. And it is partly by their suggestions that the Roman clergy have, in some respects, been incessantly oppressed in the states of the Grand Seignor, notwithstanding the intervention of the ambassadors of Apostolical and Roman kings.

I had myself some suspicions of this policy; but the Archbishops *Nicomedias*, *Dhercon*, *Sophias*, and *Thessalonicis*, who make part of the synod of the Patriarch, and are my friends, addressed me in the following terms, three years before the revolt of the Greeks.

"No one can be ignorant," said they, "that the decline of the Greek empire was occasioned by the religious prejudices of its people. On this point all historians agree—that the influence of prelates and of different members of the clergy corrupted the principal chieftains of the empire, who neglected the true duties of their posts to give themselves up to the discussion of points of doctrine. In this they sometimes found occasion to display their wit and imprudent erudition.

"Their example had this fatal result, that theological subtilties became the fashion; and in a short space, no other question was agitated throughout the empire, but the misunderstanding of families occasioned by the difference of religious opinions.

"Whilst the Greek and Roman churches made war in words,

whilst the Greeks employed all their time and all their faculties in puerile disputes, the Turks meditated the conquest of a people weakened by scholastic differences and the avarice of the rich. With little difficulty Mahomet II. subjugated them in 1453. We say it unhesitatingly, because in reality the brilliant defence of Constantinople by Constantine Palæologus cannot be considered as a remarkable fact in the fall of this great empire.

" The glory of so splendid and easy a conquest did not puff up the Ottoman to the degree of making him neglect the care of its preservation. He supposed and desired that that which had occasioned the loss of the Greek empire would likewise establish its conquest: in a word, he had recourse to simony. The clergy were gained: Saint Sophia for ever became a Mosch, and the people Greek *Rayas* * of the Ottoman empire.

" The Sublime Porte judged it expedient to preserve four Patriarchs, those of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem; to confirm not only to the archbishops and bishops their honours and dignities, but to present to the clergy generally new prerogatives in most countries of the Greek empire, lately subjected to its power.

" By this means, and by that of presents made to the prelates, it confirmed the submission of the Greeks. But as soon as the Ottoman emperors found themselves unshaken on the ruins of the empire of the East, they diminished their cares and attentions toward the clergy, without, however, depriving them either of their honours or privileges. They confined themselves to the exaction of a very moderate claim, to the period of the nomination of one of its members to some prelacy.

" The Greeks, at this time, met with support and consolation in their slavery from the clergy, because the prelates, sold to the Ottomans, boasted of the mildness of their yoke; and to gain the Greeks, made use of the eloquence with which their Gospel morality furnished them. It is also true, that excepting the horrors committed during the first days of the capture of Constantinople, their conquerors were much more moderate than could have been expected. Provided that they were resigned

* In Turkey they comprehend by the name of *Raya* all Christians who are subjected to the Grand Seignor by force of arms, and who pay the *haratz*, or annual capitation.

and submissive, the Turks did not harass them with that weight of servitude, or with that austerity which the successors of Mahomet II. have since done—an austerity to which are attached certain political causes already known to you.

" The existence of the Greek clergy was stationary to the epoch in which the *grammaticos* became Drogomans of the Divan *. The Fanariotes then exercised over the clergy an influence which the Sublime Porte permitted them to take.

" They had soon for patriarchs, bishops, archimandrites and igoûmenos, or superiors of monasteries, only persons taken from their own rank, or devoted to their system †—a system which has for its bases the degradation of the lower clergy and the people, and the political abasement of the Latin ritual. They now dispose of our existence; for if any one among us openly opposes their projects or their policy he is sure to lose his rank and property; happy if he be not exiled to Mount Athos or Cyprus!

" One of our first duties, in compliance with their policy, is to give the following instructions to our caloyers, confessors, preachers, and secular priests. They consist in maintaining the Greeks, Ottoman subjects, and the sons of the Orthodox Church in implacable hatred against the Roman Church, and above all, against the Greek Rayas of the Levant who follow the Latin ritual.

" They are forbidden to bless any marriage where one of the party shall not belong to the Church of the East, and to require, in that case, that the schismatic of Rome be rebaptized ‡.

* See page 282.

† The Greeks not being subject to the Pope, are so to the Patriarchs, of whom we have spoken above; and who are all of equal authority, with the exception of the Patriarch of Constantinople, to whom the three others are subject, and who take the title of *Icoumenicos* or *Universal*.

The archbishops and bishops amount to the number of about one hundred and seventy. All receive the investiture and the *barrat* or warrant of their office from the Sublime Porte, for which they pay the usual charges. They reside on their patriarchates, save a certain number who remain at Constantinople, where they make part of the jurisdiction of the Synod. They serve also as Capi-Kiahaya to the resident archbishops and bishops.

‡ From hence doubtless arises the custom among the Greeks of the Orthodox ritual, not to consider as Christians the Roman Catholics. The first question which they address to a stranger is this—" Are you *Frangos* or *Christianos?*" that is to say, are you a Frank or a Christian?

"They are forbidden also to unite two persons in marriage of the Church of the East if one of them be not a Raya of the Sublime Porte.

"They ought to subject to heavy alms, and to spiritual or corporal punishments, every orthodox person who shall enter a church of the Latin ritual, because the Catholics adore images in relief, in imitation of idolaters. In this respect, to please the Fanariotes, they ought to magnify in the eyes of the people the superstitions to which the Roman Catholics are subject, and to prove them repugnant to the Deity in the extreme.

"They must make the Greeks observe one hundred and ninety-five days of Lent in the year, during which they oblige them to abstain from the use of meat, milk, fish, and even from oil: they subject them to the rigorous observance of ninety-one feasts, (besides the local feasts,) and especially to maintain them in the belief of miracles which were conceived either with a view to public usefulness, or to that of a sordid interest. Above all, they are not to omit enforcing the holy practice (where there are rich people) of making a pilgrimage to the tomb of *Our Lord Jesus Christ*, for the purpose of holding a wax taper in the hand, kindled at the sacred fire of heaven, which falls from the celestial abode upon the Sepulchre, the Easter holiday of the Orthodox—a pilgrimage which absolves the greatest sinners: a sacred fire, which is perfectly well known to chymists and physicians, and even to Fanariotes, although none of them have ever been seen under the habit of a pilgrim at the tomb of Jerusalem.

"This pilgrimage is one of the sources of ecclesiastical revenues, since the poorest of the pilgrims must deposit in the Greek chest a sum of three thousand francs, and the richest ten thousand.

"This revenue, joined to so many other, assists us in purchasing from the Sublime Porte the prerogatives which it imparts to us—prerogatives which the intrigue of the Fanariotes puts up to auction. It is true, that by means of the heavy contributions that we pay, we are protected by them, and by the Divan, against the pretensions of Armenian heretics, and more than all, against those of the Latin church.

"We direct the *Curés* to exhibit to the eyes of the Greeks the remarkable favour which they enjoy, in not being subject to

military enrolment, an exemption which alone is worth all possible liberties; and to convince them that the servitude in which they live should be considered as a benefit bestowed on them by Providence. For unhappy, says the Gospel, unhappy are they who find consolation in this world; but happy are they who weep and groan, and happy are the nations whom humiliation and slavery afflict. To arrive at this point it is necessary to insinuate that the words *liberty* and *independence* are void of sense, that they are only the inspirations of a demon; that passive obedience is a virtue most grateful to heaven, and that if God did not approve of the authority which the Sultan exercises over us, the empire of the Sultan would not exist; that he reigns, like the other kings of the earth, by his favour; that our ancestors were more unfortunate than we, because they obeyed their passions in fighting for liberty, or to speak better, for revolt."

"Are you aware," said the venerable Nicomedias, "what cause maintains the hatred and antipathy which reigns between the Orthodox and the Latins of the Levant, and why it exists not with respect to the Armenians, nor even to the Jews? It is this: because the orthodox Greeks know that these people are enslaved and subjected to the Ottomans; and that their priests, after our example, take care to flatter the prejudices in which they live, and to boast the benefits of submission, whilst the Latins enjoy certain privileges which somewhat lighten the enormous burdens of slavery."

"Condemning, as I entirely do, the policy of the Fanariotes," said the learned *Dhèrcon*, "I am constrained to render them this justice—that for more than half a century it has produced marvellous effects in stopping the progress of apostacy, so common before this æra to our Greeks, that if it had continued to exercise its devastations we should, at this day, have been reduced to a very small number of the Orthodox. It is not that they were compelled to change their religion; for by the Mussulman constitution the Greeks are not considered as slaves, but as Ottoman subjects, whom they designate under the name of *Rayas;* and as a subject, no one can be forced to embrace the Mahommedan religion. But Turkish despotism, ingenious in the fabrication of methods, draws a part of the Greeks to Islamism by vexations. In making them support slavery as Christians—in diminishing to

their eyes that sort of shame which hurries on a forced submission, we have rendered their condition better, and the necessity for changing their religion less.

" The Ottomans, to augment the Protestants, are reduced, in our days, to cause their *Seferlees*, or warriors, to carry off by actual force some thousands of children of both sexes belonging to Greek families *. Many Rayas, and in pretty large numbers, have voluntarily embraced the Mahommedan religion for the following motives:

" 1st. For the love of civil liberty.

" 2dly. In consequence of the fatigues of slavery and particular vexations.

" 3rdly. To enjoy the luxurious privileges of polygamy.

" 4thly. To preserve their property from Mussulman usurpation.

" 5thly. To enjoy freedom in their manner of dressing, and from a taste for Asiatic luxury.

" 6thly. To get rid of a capital condemnation.

" 7thly. To free their children from the slavery imposed on the condition of Raya, and to enjoy the privileges of a citizen.

" 8thly. From want of religion, and a sentiment of honour.

" 9thly. And, after all, from a taste for arms, and often with a design to avenge himself on a Turk who has ill treated him.

" 10thly. From despair, or from a state of drunkenness.

" Apostacy has introduced into the interior of the empire another sort of men; for though some motive or other has caused the Greek to forsake the worship of his fathers, circumcision has not had the power to destroy in him, nor in his race, their original character. Thus the Renegade and his descendants are always distinguished from all other Mussulmans by their patriotism, their courage, their agility, the vivacity of their character, their genius, their love for glory, and their peculiar passion for arms.

* The Turkish soldiers, during a campaign, carry off the best made boys and girls belonging to Greek families that inhabit the frontiers. So that in the greater part of the wars which they have sustained against Russia or Austria, the Turks have in some measure sought to replace the losses which they have sustained in battle by forcing away a great number of unfortunate Greek Rayas, of whom they have made slaves, or pitilessly and illegally sold to merchants who usually follow the Ottoman armies.

They are greedy of advancement, and jealous of prerogatives; they have a fierce, and often an imposing air; they are neither fanatics nor even devotees; but, proud of belonging to the nation of the Prophet, they bear a secret hatred to the *Emirs* of Higher Asia, and still more to the Greek nation *. The *Greco-Turk* is easily distinguished among the Turks.

"This class of men has infected European Turkey, Asia Minor, as well as the large islands of the Archipelago. Their existence rejoices the Ottoman Government, which thinks by their conversion to become acceptable to the Prophet; since by that means it has increased the number of his warriors, advanced his glory and grandeur—not perceiving that by the introduction of this class of men into the corps of Adjemy-Oglan or the pupils of the Janissaries, and afterwards into that of the Janissaries of Constantinople—it has lost by such violation of the laws of Soloman II. the greater part of its influence on a body to which it will one day owe its fall †. To return more immediately to the policy of the Fanariotes," said the Prelates, "which we are obliged to follow for our own preservation—we will assure you, that masters in some measure of our existence, they inform themselves through our medium, of the real situation of the Greeks ‡: this they com-

* All travellers and historians agree upon the villainy which characterises the Turks of Peloponnesus, Crete, Negropont, and a great portion of the continent, who are for the most part, of Greek origin.

† I do not participate in this opinion. I am persuaded, on the contrary, that, while the Janissaries shall be governed by the present system, the Turkish empire will preserve its power. Because it is incontestable, that Europe would be compromised by the execution of the projected reform of Selim III. known under the name of *Nizam-Tgedit*. This reform would destroy the indolence of that formidable body, and render the fall of the Ottoman Empire necessary to the repose of Europe. Napoleon desired this reform; but with the view that it would be useful to him in his projects against Russia. In the actual state of European policy, the real force of Turkey lies in the insignificance of her military power—without denying, however, that Turkey would draw for herself, and especially as it regards the Greeks, a great advantage from this body, if she could establish it without occasioning trouble from without, which, in my opinion, would not be chimerical.

‡ The Grand Patriarch, who lives at Constantinople, has also a Capi-Kiahaya, or representative, who is a Fanariote. He is obliged to present himself every day at the Sublime Porte, to report upon the state of the Greek Church, and on other objects. This report reaches the Minister of the Interior, or the Grand Vizier, by the intervention of the Drogoman.

municate to the Government, which, as the price of their services, elevates them to the dignity of Prince. As we are made tributary to the Porte in immense sums, it is necessary that we obtain the means of paying them. The Rayas support excessive imposts in consequence of this policy; for, that they may despoil them of a part of their revenues, it must be insinuated to the Government that their possession of large sums of money, would render their submission problematical.

" Some Primates of our country have had the imprudence to address complaints to the grandees of the Empire, before preferring them to the Drogoman of the Divan. He has known it, and remained silent. But some months afterwards he has revenged himself by their ruin, and caused their condemnation to the galleys on the least suspicion and under the slightest pretext. He has urged the envoy, an Ottoman Waywode, to ill use the people, and to do them a thousand injuries. This Waywode, empowered to receive the impost, has placed in his chest the three-fold value of ordinary contributions.

" Besides the annual tax which this country bears in the aggregate, it pays for the watering of ships of war, for biscuit, meat, pilau, pitch and tar, hire of sailors, victualling of ships, &c. &c. The produce of these imposts would be sufficient for the equipment of the French and English fleets; whilst, by the bad administration and waste which exists in the employment of the public money, it scarcely is enough to furnish twelve Turkish vessels, ill-equipped and armed; whose sailors, ill-fed, are soon destroyed by the putrid or malignant fever; and from want of precaution, the plague itself is often introduced. The Capitan Pacha, who is rarely discouraged, repairs the disasters of his fleet, by pressing the inhabitants of the first island in the Archipelago, which he encounters, without embarrassing himself too much with the misfortunes that result to the islanders by this arbitrary measure. These, he names by a barbarous derision, *Taouchan*, or Hares; because they fly into the mountains on his approach with extreme celerity.

The Primates and Greek chiefs of the provinces are equally obliged to make their requests by the mediation of the Drogoman of the Divan: so that this dignitary thinks he has reason to consider himself as the representative of the whole Greek nation.

" I pass in silence the vexations of the Ottoman governors; for they would carry me from my design, which is to give you a perfect idea of the direct influence of the Fanariotes over the misfortunes of our Rayas.

" It will be useful, I think, to speak of the Drogoman of the Marine *, a Fanariote, who always accompanies the Capitan Pacha in his maritime excursions, and who directs, in a great measure, the unheard of exactions of this Admiral. He informs himself as far as concerns the Primates and the Greek Clergy, of all that is passing, whether in the islands of the Archipelago, or in different quarters of the continent which border the sea; and which are, therefore, under his jurisdiction.

" As soon as the fleet of the Capitan Pacha arrives in one of the ports, he is busied in collecting the annual tribute, in order to avoid the expences of too long an abode; for the crews are fed at the cost of the inhabitants while the ships of the Grand Seignor are at anchor. But this haste rarely ends happily. The project of devastating this country, as well as many others, having been previously determined on by the counsels of the Admiral, it must be put into execution. False pretences are never wanting; and we see, at this lamentable period, the guiltless heads of rich individuals falling under the Ottoman sword, whilst their property is confiscated to the use of their persecutors. Others, deprived of all that they possessed, are pitilessly sent to the galleys. Thus disappear the hopes which the Primates had entertained.

" The inhabitants of the small islands of the Archipelago, are

* I have already mentioned the origin of this dignity. I have shown that it was created a short time after that of Drogoman of the Divan. The authority of Drogoman of the Marine, is but little exercised by the Fanariote who is invested with it, except on the sailing of the Ottoman fleet, which is fixed regularly at the commencement of the month of May in each year. If the Drogoman of the Marine does not exercise his office under a Capitan Pacha with credit, he seldom arrives at the Drogomanate of the Divan which is necessary to become a Hospodar. The return of the annual imposts or tribute which the islanders of the Archipelago owe to the Sublime Porte is a remarkable æra for the *Drogoman of the Marine*. The more he has persecuted the Greeks, the more he has discovered his zeal; and then it is, that he sometimes obtains on his return, under colour of recompence, the office of Drogoman of the Divan, and finally, the dignity of Prince Hospodar. Arrived at this dignity his policy is subordinate to that which has been common to all his predecessors.

more particularly the object of the persecutions of this Drogoman; because while the Turkish fleet continues its course, he embarks in a corvette, and accompanied by a horde of Fanariote Boyars, runs over these islands, fortified by a power from the Capitan Pacha, to receive the annual impost. The islanders forestall his desires, in the hope of avoiding the injuries which they apprehend from him. But, vain precautions! the Drogoman, under pretence that divisions have existed among them, declares himself, by virtue of his authority, judge of these pretended differences; and surpassing, as it relates to those of the same religion with himself, the despotism of the Grand Seignor's judges, treats them with revolting barbarity. In vain the unhappy islanders would persuade him that all division among them has ceased! in vain they supplicate him, on their knees, kissing his feet, and lavishing upon him the most endearing epithets, he is deaf to all. Some there have been, who thus uselessly degraded themselves. 'My Lord Sultan,' they have said, 'After God, we acknowledge you for our father; pity our wretchedness.' The more humble these unfortunate beings are, the less favour they obtain: And their degradation only renders the Drogoman more proud and insolent.

"He causes a certain number of these Greeks to be seized, whom he places in the lion-grasp of the Capitan Pacha: fortunate if they can escape at the price of all they are worth!

"This barbarous treatment explains also, how it happens that the Rayas are incessantly occupied in repairing their condition.

"There is no need, I think, to make you feel, how fearful this conduct is from a Greek; and how hateful the Fanariote policy should appear to you, as it is visible in the acts of the Drogoman. Your soul must be, as ours is, afflicted with miseries, always proceeding from those of the same faith; and so much the more bitterly afflicted, since the most penetrating eye cannot perceive the day when they shall terminate.

"You have observed our situation to be such, that we cannot be passive to the burdens under which our Christian Rayas suffer; and that, if the Clergy devour one part of their revenues, and preach maxims little conformable to common feeling, it is, because we should incur a real danger by not doing so. We pay; and they must pay us: we obey, and they must obey us. If

we should refuse submission to the tyrannic wishes of those who direct us, we should augment, beyond dispute, the cruel fate of the Rayas; and though the principle be not very evangelical, we are forced to commit an evil, that good may result from it. This thought quiets our consciences. The primal cause of the evils which the Greeks endure lies in the scandalous policy of the Fanariotes. We are, it is true, the instruments, but what are we to do? Things are so established; and we can only work a reform among them, by a concussion which would shake not only the Turkish Empire, but also the policy of Europe.

"When one of us is raised to the episcopacy he is obliged to lodge a sum, which varies according to the importance of the see, from two hundred to fifty thousand francs, into the chest of the Grand Patriarch *. If he possess not the whole sum which is imposed, a thing which commonly happens, he agrees to bonds which bear an interest of ten per cent. per annum, and which they designate under the name of Avlikies-Omoloyes †. Each of us is concerned in the extinction of the debt which he contracts on his investiture, in order to get rid of an usurious interest. This debt would fall to the lot of his successor, if contrary to custom, it was not paid off by the incumbent. It happens often enough that as soon as it is discharged, they appoint our successor, which causes this interest to be renewed.

"Besides these bonds, which we must pay, we are obliged to contract enormous expences for our equipage, and to sustain an

* This chest, known under the name of the Society of the Grand Patriarchate, possesses enormous revenues. It is composed of the junction of all the private chests of monasteries, of archbishops and bishops. It is under the direction of eminent persons in the Fanar. These revenues are not applicable to the repairs of churches, nor to their maintenance. Such expences are borne by their landed property, and by the eventual profits of manufactures. They are specially destined for the taxes due to the Sublime Porte and for sacrifices to Ministers in order to obtain the protection of the Divan in favour of Christians, and privileges for the Eastern church. It assists equally the ex-Hospodars, and Boyars, who are in distress. Although this chest has immense revenues, it is almost always in debt, many millions. No one dares to demand an account of this debt, any more than the manner in which the chest is managed.

† These bonds are much sought after by capitalists; because they yield a large interest, and are payable some days after sight at Constantinople, by the representative of the Archbishop or Bishop in whose name they are approved. The Princes and Boyars place in this manner the major part of their fortune.

appearance conformable to our character. For it is necessary to impose upon the vulgar *; and nothing is more efficacious in securing us respect, than exterior affluence. Thus the least considerable of us is unable to support his rank, or preserve his situation, unless he possess an income of sixty thousand, or at least thirty thousand, francs.

" It is to cover these expences that we are constrained to have recourse to means which civilized people disapprove, and which have made us justly obnoxious to reproach. Their writers have condemned results, of whose causes they were ignorant. In this they are wrong; but the culpability with which they have charged these results is not without some appearance of justice.

" Where are we to obtain revenues, if not by our prerogatives? Beyond these we have nothing. Thus we make them pay dearly for the funerals of the rich, and the archiepiscopal masses to which we oblige their heirs. We legalize a marriage or a divorce at the price of a heavy contribution. We possess great resources in *major* and *minor* excommunications. They pay us for excommunicating, and they pay us again for removing the excommunication †.

" But the principal branch of our revenues is the receipt of tithes, which we effect by means of a Firman. Without this peremptory order, we should have great difficulty to realize our incomes, although the taking of tithes bears a sacred character. It is commanded in the Old Testament.

" By the instigation of the Fanariotes also, our jurisprudence is deteriorated; since in the name of the Faith, the decrees of Synods condemn (as they have often done) to the galleys, men, who perhaps merit no other reproach than that of having displeased the Fanariote princes ‡.

* The Prelate spoke truly, although Tournefort was not mistaken when he panegyrized the poverty of the Bishops. But things have changed considerably since the last age, and this illustrious writer would now have altered that part of his narrative.—See Tournefort, *Voyage to the Island of Zia.*

† In confirmation of this account, a Greek Drogoman and schoolmaster, on board His Majesty's Ship Cambrian, asserted his belief that a dead body which had been excommunicated by the Archbishop, would not dissolve into dust, unless the excommunication were withdrawn. To enforce his argument he quoted John xx. 23. " Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them: *but whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained.*" T.

‡ The Prelate confines this authority to the Synod; whereas it rests with

" The empire which we exercise over the Rayas, would soon have been destroyed, if Fanariote policy had been less provident with respect to public instruction. But it has felt the importance of directing it, and especially, of directing it by us. If they have permitted our Greeks to receive instruction, it was effected by our influence and that of the Princes of the Fanar. Thus, we have always been careful not to suffer too much knowledge to be admitted into the schools. It is, moreover, the express order of the government, as well as that of the Fanariotes.

" We have authorized the books of our holy religion to be received into the colleges; but we have excluded such as relate to the sciences, and particularly those that can inflame the imagination of the pupils, by recalling to them the glory and heroic exploits of their ancestors.

" There has been some relaxation of this system. I am going to inform you in what schools instruction was tolerated.

" First, in that of Yanina, under the direction of the learned Ballano, about the year 1760.

" In that of the Convent of Vatopedion, on Mount Athos, conducted by the celebrated Eugene Bulgaris, who fled to Russia, and died in St. Petersburg.

" Thirdly, the school of *Coxrou Kesme*, at Constantinople; that of *Aïvali*, or *Cydonia*; and lastly, that of Scio.

" But a change has taken place in opinion. The school of Constantinople, though protected by Morousi, fell under the authority of the Fanariotes, and was closed.

" The learned Benjamin, who had formed admirable scholars at Aïvali, was ordered to Constantinople; and after having been severely reprimanded by the Patriarch, obtained, as a great favour, the privilege of returning to his own home, on the condition that he followed the *Turco-Fanariote* system, and not that of civilized people. His instructions were too profound; and he was given to understand, that the Sublime Porte had no need of learned men!

" The Greeks, in affluent circumstances, and greedy of information, dissatisfied with the persecutions which they expe-

every Bishop; at whose request a Greek is sent to the galleys. At Constantinople even, an individual is arrested without the smallest explanation, and thrown into irons in the name of the Patriarch.

rienced in classic schools, determined to send their children into the other countries of Europe for instruction; but this could only be done under different pretences, and principally under that of forming a commercial establishment. By this means they have avoided the persecutions both of Turks and Fanariotes.

"As to the classic school of Scio, conducted by the celebrated *Vamba*, and recently re-established; although it professes opinions contrary to those of the Fanariotes, yet they have been desirous of preserving it, because the inhabitants of the Island of Scio display a perfect example of concord and unanimity among themselves, which exists no where else in the Archipelago: a harmony which is, doubtless, the result of a good administration. It is to this, out of question, that we must attribute the progress which the Sciotes have made in commerce *. Commerce which has placed them in direct intercourse with the grandees of the empire, has maintained them in favour at Constantinople; and it would not be with any probability of success that we should undertake to make them close their school †.

"In the mean time we are detested for our readiness in sending our nephews and the children of our friends to this establish-

* The inhabitants of the Island of Scio are gifted with an ingenious, gay, and even original character: but they are mutable, uncertain, sluggish, effeminate, and little adapted for war. We might compare them to the Phœacians of whom Homer speaks; but with this difference, that they have not the hospitality of that people.

This want of hospitality, on the part of the Sciotes, may be attributed to their intercourse with the Europeans of the Continent. For I have had opportunity to examine and ascertain in my own person that the Levantines exercise hospitality much more generally than the French, English, Germans, or Italians. I have noticed, that the people of these countries possess laws, but not hospitable manners; that one cannot assimilate the cold politeness of civilized people with the generous abandonment of the uncultivated people of the Islands of the Archipelago. I have sometimes sought for a reason of that religious forwardness to oblige, which marks the conduct of the Levantines towards strangers, so strongly opposed to the selfishness of different European people; and I think that I am not mistaken in ascribing it to the mutual claim of the ancient Greeks, to lodge with one another. For this claim, according to historians, extended from city to city, from individuals to individuals, and from family to family.

† The reader need not be reminded, that this relates to a period of three years antecedent to the Revolution. Scio itself is now a heap of ruins. T.

ment: but be well assured, that it will be overthrown before its success can become dangerous to the tyranny and to the system of the Fanariotes. The small stability attached to these institutions, has always prevented the complete instruction of children. They receive only an imperfect education, continually shackled in its walk; and thus we reckon among the scholars who have proceeded from it, many half-learned persons, who reason badly, and occasion us to regret the loss of their original ignorance.

"You think, perhaps," said the prelate, "that the six months of fasting, ordained by our institutions, have been imposed only from views purely devotional. If you imagine this, you are in error. Much policy, and still more interest, partakes of this obligation. If a penitent declare that he has infringed the observance of this fast, his confessor absolves him; but it is on the consideration of a certain fine, and this fine goes to the emolument of the priest; it makes part of his revenues. If it is found below the pecuniary ability of the penitent, since it is a *sine qud non*, absolution is refused him, and, consequently, participation of the sacrament of the Eucharist. And if it happen that he discovers too much indifference at these privations; if he come not to solicit the diminution of the fine, he incurs excommunication, which carries along with it the most serious consequences. For the excommunicated is driven from his village, from the bosom of the church, and from society: happy, if under any pretext they do not find the means of committing him to the galleys*!"

The prelates afterwards made me understand, that there was a political object in the institution of numerous feasts, to which a feeling of interest necessarily attached itself: "Because," said they, "immense revenues are wanted to satisfy the Fanariotes. The church of the east is their tributary, and, to say so, their slave. In the Roman Church, the offerings of the faithful are

* The Greeks are rigorous observers of the long Lent: there is no safety out of it. We have seen infamous brigands—pirates even, submit to it in the very midst of their robberies and assassinations.

In general, the Greek is superstitious; (ignorance and superstition usually go hand in hand!) a wretch who shall have committed every imaginable crime, and who by a chance, happy for him, shall have escaped the sword of justice, will believe himself justified before God and man, if he has made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem!

voluntary: here, they are constrained. A Latin causes masses to be said for the departed, if it be convenient to him: the orthodox Greek is obliged to do it. This you must have perceived; since in all our temples they take down the name of every Christian who enters, to compel him to deposit a sum for the repose of the souls of sinners. Feasts oblige the faithful to come to church, and their presence increases the profits.

"We do not regret," said the venerable Archbishops Sophias and Nicomedias, "the confidence we have just reposed in you. You are our friend; and, like us, the friend of your country. It is useful to instruct you in the Fanariote policy. Some observations in the preface of your work, on the Island of Tino *, have induced us to give you a glimpse at its influence on the clergy of the east; in order that you may, one day, record to what modern Greece is indebted for a part of her misfortunes, and for the ignorance of her people."

There is not an enslaved nation which seeks but to draw vanity from the shadow of favour which the prince grants it; and would not, by a certain pride, rise from the abject condition into which slavery plunges it. The Greeks, for example, are proud to see issue from their ranks, princes who have reigned in Moldavia and Walachia. They care little about their manner of acting, or of the means which have conducted them to greatness. They are Greeks and Hospodars: *that* is all they seek to know. They are ignorant, unhappy beings! that their calamities originate with the party which creates and crushes these Hospodars: that these same Hospodars go from the Fanar; the focus of all their unhappiness. That they return to augment the number of those courtiers greedy of gold and honours; who being ever ready to seek them, are ready also to preserve them at the price of a fellow-creature's happiness.

Either I deceive myself, or the declarations of the prelates have sufficiently pointed out the source of the high notion which the people of Greece have conceived of the power of the Fanariote party. In credit at Constantinople, cried up and seconded by the clergy in the provinces and in the Archipelago, how can they be otherwise than omnipotent?

* I have not as yet been able to meet with this work. T.

The vulgar love commonly to imitate the great: it is a recompence which they enjoy with pleasure. The Fanariotes, by vanity or by some other cause, have substituted for the names usually given to their children, names more historical, more lofty, more conformable to their pride. This mania has gained over a part of the Greeks. They unite from their twentieth year to the name of one of the saints in the Martyrology, the name of a hero of antiquity, or that of some remarkable person of the lower empire. From this innovation, it follows, that patronymic names disappear to make way for adopted ones. So that it establishes a kind of confusion in families... One is unable to perceive the utility that can be derived from such an innovation. It appears at first, only ridiculous; but examined closer, it presents fallacious objects, or political purposes: that is to say, they desire in this day to seem to the rest of Europe, descended from the great men; and to secure for the future, in their own country, that respect which is always accorded to the memory of an illustrious name, and which rebounds on him who bears it. This sort of cheat is not productive of much ill to contemporaries; but a day will come when Greece will be peopled only by the false descendants of Ptolemy, Perdiccas, Commenes, Palæologus, &c. &c.

This rage for great names has so seized the minds of certain Greeks, that they not only give them to their children, but even to their ships. Thus such a vessel once called the *Saint John*, now bears the name of *Hercules*, *Neptune*, *Themistocles*, &c.

Perhaps this new fashion attaches to it the most exalted thoughts. Its adoption may have contributed to arouse the courage and hardihood of the Hydriotes, Spetziotes, and Ipsariotes, by the grand recollections associated with these names. A little thing will sometimes reanimate the valour of a people, sunk by slavery: especially when this dejected people find in its history the noble exploits and the glory of their ancestors. The late conduct of these brave islanders recals the finest epochs of Grecian power, and forces the admiration of the world.

If the Hellenes, as it is probable, succeed in regaining their liberty, the intrepid sailors of the Islands of the Archipelago will claim the best part of the work of their regeneration. They have

replied by their glorious efforts to the insolent contempt of those triflers of Europe, who judge people by the recitals, too frequently by the lies of travellers, especially of merchants; and who have been indiscreet enough to ask, from enslaved and disarmed hands, the same energy, which they would have a right to expect from the unshackled and thoroughly armed.

CHAPTER IV.

Deposition of the Hospodars — Their return to Constantinople — Their mode of living there — What they do to recover their power — Their exile — Of Prince Suzzo.

The duration of the Hospodar's sovereignty is not subject to fixed rules. It is subordinate to the will of the Divan. A Hospodar reigns as long as his conduct pleases the Sublime Porte, and as he can repel the intrigues of his enemies.

A Hospodar loses or resigns his principality. He loses it by deposition. He resigns it by a voluntary secession, or by his decease.

The majority of the Hospodar princes have been deposed.

We shall not enter here into details respecting their deposition: on this point we have already said all that it is necessary to say.

We proceed now to inform our readers in what manner they effect the deposition.

From Constantinople, and with the utmost secresy, the firman of deposition is dispatched. One mistrusts, on this occasion, the *Bâcke-Capi-Kiahaya* of the deposed prince, when the Sublime Porte has no direct complaint against him: for, in other circumstances, if the disgrace of the Prince is of such a nature as to require his head, that of the delegate falls with it, should he be suspected of having connived at his purpose of high-treason.

The firman of deposition is conveyed to the Metropolitan of the province by a secret agent. As soon as he has received it, he assembles the native Boyars, and directs them to take care that the deposed prince has no opportunity of withdrawing the

chest of the *Grand Vestiar* or receiver general*; and above all to prevent his emigration to a foreign country.

In this situation of affairs, the dignitaries of the province, just as the interest of each is concerned, adopt all the measures which prudence dictates, in order to avoid the remonstrances either of the Divan, or of the Kaïmakam of the new prince, or of the prince himself.

But usually, (notwithstanding the mystery in which the Divan enshrouds itself,) the Bâche-Capi-Kiahaya of the deposed prince anticipates the orders of the fatal firman. If he be devoted to his employer, he dispatches promptly and secretly, an express, which precedes the arrival of that of government, by twenty-four hours.

As soon as the prince is informed of his disgrace, he causes the Grand Vestiar to be called to him, and makes himself acquainted with the state of the chest. If it be replenished, he fabricates mandates, payable at sight, and assigns false motives for it. So that in a few hours, there scarcely remains in the chest enough to remunerate the commissioners.

That there may be no suspicion in the Grand Vestiar, he delivers to him at the same time unsealed orders for the governors and tax-gatherers of the different districts, commanding them to lodge in his money-chest what they possess in theirs; and to proceed in the collection of imposts.

The Vestiar receives these orders with avidity, and forwards them, without delay, to the tax-gatherers of the twenty-four districts of the province. Though these orders are perfectly in rule, and conducted in the usual terms, they are of no value; because they bear a mark previously agreed on, which instructs the Fanariote tax-gatherers of the deposition of the prince; a mark which the Grand Vestiar neither perceives nor understands.

On distinguishing the appointed sign, the tax-gatherers arrange their affairs in the most beneficial manner for themselves and the prince. They conceal the gold which the arrival of the

* This chest, when the Hospodar has not had time to empty it, often incloses immense sums, which the prince makes himself master of, on the pretext of sharing them among the subjects who have to complain of his predecessor's administration. It is not necessary that this division should take place; for the prince always awards the profit of this kind of confiscation.

true sentence of deposition would rob them of. It may be imagined, in the mean time, how they execute the orders which the Grand Vestiar transmits to them under the voucher of the fallen Hospodar.

But the circumstances are different when the prince is succeeded by his Bâche-Capi-Kiahaya. He has had a real interest in neglecting to communicate his deposition. In this case, the collected money remains in the chest, and falls, as we have said, into the hands of the new prince.

We may picture to oneself the consternation in which the court of the prince is plunged by this recent deposition. The Fanariote Boyars weep, and are troubled: their reign ends with that of the Hospodar. Some hopes remain, but they are mixt up with fears and doubts. The native Boyars are also discontented; but their reign is not over, and they divert their grief by the preparations necessary for the reception of the Kaïmakam of the new prince.

Confusion pervades the court *. The prince, abandoned by his courtiers, is almost abandoned by his servants. From that day he perceives that he can walk alone, without needing the support of arms †. He lodges simply as a private person in the house of a citizen, and there awaits the coalition of his governors of districts, who necessarily share his disgrace; and from that time, each, at his own expence, prepares for his return to Constantinople.

* I recollect a circumstance which enlivened for a moment the sorrow that prevailed in the court of the prince to whom I was attached, the day on which they received the firman of his deposition. I saw in the midst of this breaking up of affairs the Divan Effendi (see page 286) thus console the Boyars.—"My friends," said he gaily, "do not afflict yourselves, all comes from God, all is written on high. Look at me, though I have lost all, I am happy, because *destiny* will have it so, and not even the Prophet could change it. Besides, the presages of this catastrophe are not bad. Eight days ago I observed the shoulder-blade of a roasted lamb which I eat; it was marked with pale spots, but I could see none that were red—which signifies that our prince's blood shall not be shed."

However consoling was the prognostic of this generous Turk, it did not prevent the Boyars from concealing every thing that they could lay their hands upon.

† See page 294.

The deposed prince having no account to render, but being nevertheless under the authority of the reigning prince whilst he remains upon his territories, hastens his journey, and always takes care to avoid encountering him.

The Fanar being prohibited as the residence of every deposed Hospodar *, he repairs, on reaching Constantinople, to his country-house, situated on the banks of the canal; he lives there in the first instance in the greatest solitude: a profound silence reigns about him. The greater part of the windows of his house are closed, and the curtains of those that are open let down: few lights are seen during the night. In short, the exterior and the interior of this abode have the aspect of sorrow and misfortune.

The prince is supposed to hold communication with no one, unless with his physician or certain archbishops. This mode of living, while it destroys all suspicion, moves the compassion of the Mussulmans †.

When he is once assured that he will be called to no further account relative to the government which he has just quitted, he relaxes his precautions, and diminishes his reserve; he receives visits, and chiefly those of the Fanariote Boyars. These visits are so much the more agreeable, that being unable to enter Constantinople without danger, he has occasion to concert with them.

From that moment recommence his intrigues to rival the influence of the other ex-princes, who solicit, as well as he, their re-establishment. The fortune which he has just realized places him in a situation to combat the difficulties which his circumstances present, and the state of political constraint in which he finds himself.

* The Hospodar receives, on his nomination, the standard of three tails. When he returns to Constantinople he may no longer inhabit the Fanar, because, according to the constitution, the Grand Vizier, who has also three tails, alone has the privilege of residing in the interior of Constantinople. The Ottoman laws will not permit two persons enjoying this right to dwell in the same city. For this reason the Capitan Pacha inhabits the Arsenal, situated beyond the walls of the capital.

† The Ex-Hospodars have been seen to push their hypocrisy even to the point of using chymical processes to whiten their beards—the Turks having a particular respect for men who have white beards.

At first, the number of the ex-princes being less considerable, and the Hospodariate usually retained two or three years by him who possessed it *, the re-establishment of the princes was more frequent. But their number having been so much increased their return to dignity became difficult for the one, and almost impossible for the others. This has caused intrigue to take a most extraordinary turn amongst them. They persecute one another, even family connexions; and dislike each other even to abhorrence. Hence the grandees of the empire, fatigued by their importunities, and sometimes by their subterfuges, have caused a part to be exiled and part to be beheaded. The solicitors therefore, and those who have claims, are reduced to a very few.

These princes preserve in their adversity an extreme pride, which gives to their persons an air of true grandeur. There are some even who have given proof of a surprising philosophy: there are some also who have never returned to themselves, and who might justify the persecution of which they experienced the harsh effects. The following is an example.

Prince Alexander Suzzo being exiled to the Island of Rhodes in the year 1802, I attended him thither. One day, when he was confined to his bed by a very violent fever and head-ache, I perceived that he constrained himself before certain persons who visited him. I went up to him to entreat that he would not do so: I told him that complaint sometimes consoled a sick person. He replied—"He who loves roses must patiently endure the puncture of their thorns." And suddenly turning the conversation, he asked me if M. Anastasius, a merchant just arrived from Bucharest, had communicated any news from Walachia. I answered in the affirmative; he had stated that the reigning prince crushed his subjects with imposts; that he required account upon account, without returning an acquittal. Hence the poor Tcharans knew not their situation, and despaired of paying off their debts. That they reproached him, in short, with a crowd

* The Princes Kallimaki and Caratza have latterly governed their provinces almost seven years, without interruption. These long reigns, which are truly exceptions to general practice, were the result of treaties. It was, doubtless, agreed upon to avoid the charges and inconveniences which the frequent change of the Hospodars always entails upon the people.

of unjust actions, the one more revolting than another. "Have you answered these charges?" said the prince;—"I have observed," I replied, "that his reigning highness would doubtless send *Tzerka*, or agents, specially charged to receive the complaints of the people, and that he would do them justice if it were true that his ministers had abused their power; because every Hospodar imitates the good shepherd who protects and cherishes his sheep."

"You understand medicine very well," answered the prince, "but not politics, and especially Fanariote politics. You should have replied, that we ought not, in this world, to examine things too minutely; but in order to attain our end, which is riches; and that every man who lets an opportunity of enriching himself escape, deserves eternal poverty."

"I grant it," said I in return, "but does it not happen, that by seizing these opportunities with too much ardour, we are exposed to exile?"—"Know," answered he, interrupting me, "that a Fanariote prince without ambition and without intrigue, resembles an orator without eloquence, a coquette without art, and a priest without hypocrisy. I do not know that justice and disinterestedness ought to be the lot of a prince; but at least, such a moral accords not with Fanariote policy. Believe me, one cannot run at the same time after justice and wealth."—"Prince," said I, "it seems to me that they may be united; and I believe that it consists only in not lavishing a moderate fortune in intrigue, and in adding to economy what one would surrender to vanity."

We must not, however, from what I have said, draw too general inferences. There are persons met with among the Hospodars who, though they pursue the Fanariote policy, are not less at the bottom men of merit, and endowed with vast knowledge. The family of Mavrocordato has produced some virtuous princes, habituated to the management of affairs. The last of the Ipsilantis have been remarkable for their probity, their information, and generosity. Mavro-Gheni was a person of much courage, and of a greatness of soul which almost approached to stoicism. The Morousis have been acknowledged excellent diplomatists and skilful ministers. Unhappily for them, and more unhappily for the people whom they governed, they have felt

themselves obliged by circumstances to follow the precepts of the Fanar, and to subject to their chains all that was repugnant to their genius, and to rectitude of soul.

Doubtless it had been more honourable for these men to renounce honours and riches, when they were to be acquired at the expence of justice and of virtue. But sacrifices of this nature, when they could not affect the destiny of the people, would have no profitable result; and it was better for them that despotism should have been exercised by such moderate men, than by those who, for ever in extremes, are guided by no generous sentiment, and whom ignorance and cupidity invariably direct. They have, at least, discovered some liberality to their subjects; and their administration, more paternal and more enlightened, has spread over the provinces benefits which they would never probably have obtained from those who might have reigned in their place.

We have beheld the *Hospodar* go modestly from the rank of the Fanariotes, attain the Drogomanate, and quit the palace of the Divan to hold the reins of government in one of the principalities.

We have followed him from Constantinople to the capital of his province; and overlooking his conduct, we have unveiled the fatal system which he has adopted in the administration of his little kingdom.

We have shewn him such as he is—the slave of circumstances, the instrument of a powerful and dangerous party, and the most deplorable example of a victim to ambition and pride.

Elevated by intrigue to the pinnacle of honour—overthrown by intrigue into the lowest state of insignificance and degradation.

We have exhibited a person covetous of glory, of power and wealth, reach the height of his desires, and fall again, at the appearance of a firman, to his first condition, obliged to recommence his intrigues, and wretchedly terminate his life, if he recovered not his grandeur, in the agonies of misery, in places even where he had enjoyed opulence, or perish by chagrin in exile—if his head fell not under the sword of the Mussulman.

We shall discuss in the following chapter the *Boyars of the Fanar*.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Fanariote Boyars, after the deposition of their Prince—Education of their sons—Counsels of the Hospodar to his sons—Education of the Fanariote women—Divorce unjustly instigated—Fanariote peculiarities.

THE dignity of a Boyar, it has been shewn, is the gift of the prince invested with the Hospodariate; and that in the provinces the Boyars are divided into two classes, namely, into the native and Fanariote Boyars. That the laws have secured to the former the administration of a portion of public affairs, but that they have left to the Hospodar so great a latitude in the distribution of places, that the most important of these which do not belong, of right, to the native Boyars, are bestowed by him on the Fanariote Boyars, his steady creatures.

I presume that I have sufficiently demonstrated the spirit which usually directs these Boyars; but perhaps I have not pointed out precisely the origin of the Fanariote Boyars, and what they were antecedent to their elevation. This I will endeavour to do.

The majority of the Fanariotes who have obtained the dignity of Boyar, were men of no birth or merit. They have been conducted, as it were by the hand, to a rank which formerly they had not the opportunity to be ambitious of, and for which they were not born.

The fortune of a single man causes a crowd of worthless individuals to issue from the Fanar; men who have no other title to the protection of the prince than their wealth, particular recommendations, some obscure services, or the merit of parentage.

Arrived in the train of the prince, they solicit and obtain of his munificence the title of Boyar, to which his highness joins

an employment, if he who is decorated with it deserves something more than a title purely honorary.

The Hospodar prefers raising to the dignity of Boyar his sons-in-law and nearest relations. It is to them also that he gives the first offices of the principality.

Thus people would entertain a false idea at Constantinople, as elsewhere, if they attached the least idea of nobility or excellence to the denomination of Boyar. In other respects the consideration which we should grant to those whom it designates would vanish at the appearance of riches so speedily and culpably acquired by the most of them, if one consulted public retribution.

Assuredly, I am far from making obscure birth a subject of exclusion. I stop not at this prejudice of little souls; and I invoke the protection of the sovereign on all men of merit, but on them only when it acts for the benefit of the people, whose concern it is that the administration of public affairs be confided to well-intentioned men, as to those capable of directing them. For this cause I shall examine if the greater part of the Fanariote Boyars were called, either by their education or by their private virtues, to participate in acts of administration.

In civilized empires, where education has fashioned men according to the wants of society, the favour of the prince may be justified by the application and zeal of those whom he has associated in the labours of government. A good education teaches men who are called by fortune to govern their fellow-creatures, to make a right use of their power, to moderate the arbitrary inclination of their sovereign, either by wise counsels or by seconding his good intentions. It is acknowledged that the chief of a government, whatever flight he gives to his tyranny, remains in it, or returns to the path of justice, according as he meets with men of virtue, directed by previous education.

But in empires deprived of the benefits of civilization, where education is considered in a secondary point of view, and subject to the calculations of selfishness: where it even occasions jealousy amongst the powerful, the favour of the prince falls blindly on individuals abandoned to the disorders of their passions, and guided by sordid avarice; an inevitable consequence of the thirst of riches, unhappily common to most men. If the prince

has generous designs, he unceasingly encounters obstacles among his delegates; if he be governed by an evil genius, he finds in them complaisant auxiliaries who teach him to cherish it, and bear flame to the place which it has only overthrown.

Unhappily for the Greeks, the Ottoman Empire is found in the latter case. The Fanar is peopled only by men, almost strangers to European civilization; and when the Hospodar must chuse his favourites among them, his choice can only fall upon ignorant beings, full of the basest ideas.

The sons of Boyars of the first class alone receive the beginning of an education. They give them a private master to instruct them in the Greek language (Greek literature); and when they suppose them far enough advanced, they replace the Greek master by a professor of the French tongue, whom they select in preference, from the Duchy of Orleans, or from among the people of Lyons, because of their accent. But it rarely happens that children are not, by the reverses of fortune, obliged to perfect themselves in this language; and that the professor quits them at an early period.

The Boyars, relations of the deposed Prince, either by ambition, or by vanity, have sometimes had their children taught the Turkish language; but they cannot do it without the consent of the Prince, for it is to be remarked that they cease not to be subject to his power. The Prince who has created them Boyars can make them re-enter the ranks of simple Rayas, solely on giving notice of it to the Drogoman of the Divan.

It is with difficulty that the Boyars obtain the authority of the Prince to instruct their children in the Turkish. The reason is natural. The Ex-Hospodar fears that these young people may arrive by their knowledge in the language to the Drogomanate, and afterwards to the Hospodariate, a situation in which they might injure him, and even destroy the remaining shadow of his power.

The permission of the Prince is a great subject of joy to a Boyar family. The *Hotgia*, or master of the Turkish language is received with enthusiasm. They discharge all other instructors, for whom they exhibit as much indifference, as they do attention to this. Civilities, the most affectionate—feasts the most magnificent are lavished on him; his emoluments are raised

tenfold above the other, and nothing equals the veneration with which they regard him. J. J. Rousseau, who has blamed the conduct of parents towards preceptors, and who wishes that they should be held in more esteem, might have challenged, in their favour, the respect which is discovered in Boyar houses, to a *Hotgia*, at Constantinople*.

To encourage the zeal of this professor, and to flatter his ambition, they promise that if his pupil be one day raised to the Hospodariate he shall be chosen his *Divan-Effendi*. We have sometimes seen this promise realized; but we have oftener seen all the efforts and all the cares of the Hotgia prove abortive, before the difficulties of the Turkish language. The pupil becomes disgusted, and learns nothing, notwithstanding the lively solicitations of his parents, who point out to him the principality *in prospective*, with the glory and the power of all his family.

This disgust results, in a great measure, from the circumstance that the Prince grants his authority only on the express condition, that the child shall be instructed, above all, in the Greek and French languages. The charm of these two idioms, and the attraction of the works which he can read in them, contribute to render the study of the Turkish altogether disagreeable.

The Prince adopts, with regard to his own sons a very opposite system; they learn no foreign language before they are tolerably conversant in the Turkish. Experience proves this practice to be excellent.

As there is no rule without exception, some of the Boyars' sons acquire a great knowledge of Turkish literature †, and become Drogomans and Hospodars.

* It is true, there is considerable difficulty in remunerating the services of a *Hotgia*. This Mussulman is obliged to withdraw himself from the rules of his belief to give instruction. The law declares that every Mussulman who teaches his literal tongue to an infidel—he who learns the language of infidels, and he who serves them, can only be considered as half a Mussulman.

† We may cite, amongst others, John Theologus, son of a Boyar of the first class, who was remarkable for his rich and vast erudition. His father, who was of the island of Syphanto, had acquired a great fortune, and managed to escape the Fanariote policy. But he was persecuted; and the merit of his son was unable to ward off the hubbub which was raised against him. This learned man was driven away, by the jealousy of the Fanariote Princes, and has attracted great honours in Europe.

And even when the sons of the Boyars have been generally instructed in the Greek, French and Turkish languages, is this, politically speaking, a perfect education? It is, in my opinion, only the education of a college, which furnishes the mind, but leaves a prodigious vacancy in the judgment. The education which I would require in a man called to fill the offices of government, and to distribute justice, must extend further, and have a more rigorous origin. It should be that which is derived from an acquaintance with the human mind, elicited in the study of the laws, and in the lessons of history. It would still be useless, if not seconded by the education of the heart; and seconded by a virtuous example, and wise counsels.

This example of virtue and wisdom, do the sons of the Boyars receive in their childhood? Do their fathers, in defect of instructors, recommend to them the observation of social virtues—those reciprocal relations which ought to exist between human beings? Do they shew them power as created to protect the weak? Do they support their lessons by the force of example? Alas! by what my reader has perceived in this Essay, the majority of Boyars have been, on the contrary, the oppressors of the people; and if they have left a salutary example for their children, it can only arise in their adversity—in their abasement after the fall of the Prince.

If the education, which the sons of the Boyars receive, be little adapted to form ministers and public men, what must be that of those Fanariotes, whom the Prince draws from the obscurest work-people; even from the rank of his domestics to adorn them with the enormous Calpac?

As for the relations of the Prince, chance has done much for them; but they rival in ignorance the other classes of Boyars.

This deficiency of education, which shackles the Fanariote in his walk, or urges him on too rapidly, is also made worse by the fatal insinuations of his own parents. They apply themselves to teach him dissimulation, falsehood, and suspicion; and advise, as necessary acquirements, the cultivation of intrigue, chicanery, political hypocrisy, and above all, certain restrictions to which they give the name of *finesse*. "A Boyar," they acquaint them, "should endeavour to divine the secrets of another, and to conceal his own. In discussion, he ought never to contradict the

opinion of his adversary*; especially if this adversary be not himself a Boyar. It is the surest method of concealing your own thoughts, and of profiting by his indiscretions. Give your words (even though they are falsehoods) that air of truth which cheats the intellect of the most penetrating."—This advice is almost always accompanied by the power of example, adopted by the Boyars who have had the most reputation.

Cards, drunkenness, travel, and above all epistolary intercourse, proper to unveil the character of a man, are almost always represented by the Boyars, as favourable occasions to judge of others, but as very dangerous shelves, which they ought, as much as possible to avoid themselves.

The lessons of the Prince with respect to his *Beyzades* or children, have a more elevated character; but they are not less abhorrent.

"My children," he says, "never forget that we are in this world, the sport of the mutability of fortune; that we ought unintermittingly to apply ourselves to turn aside the blows which are aimed at our authority, our persons, and our property; that the best means of succeeding, is by adhering to the Fanariote policy, the only compass which can guide us under a despotic government. It is this which has directed those of our predecessors who have acquired much renown and vast riches. Without it, you will experience only obstacles and misfortunes. It will teach you usefully to combat your rivals, and enable you to outstrip them, when you solicit the Hospodariate, which ought always to be the object of your ambition.

"Remember, that you must always appear before the Turkish lords, submissive, charitable, generous, and eloquent; that it is advantageous and even indispensable, to be careful and humble to the people of their suite. When you enter the chamber of a grandee of the empire, first, make a low bow; advance to the middle of the chamber, and make a second, so as to describe a semi-circle, and leave the door visible. In approaching his lordship prostrate yourself at his knees, catching the skirt of his robe by the end, which you should lift to your forehead, immediately

* This part of Fanariote policy is a good deal practised by Alexander *Mavrocordato*, the present Secretary of State in Greece. T.

after having kissed it. Sometimes the generosity of his lordship, will prevent this deference; then, you should grasp the fringes of his sopha, which you kiss before carrying them to your forehead. You will rise, and remove yourself from this lord, without ever turning your back. If, by a sign, he invites you to be seated, hasten to place yourself on your knees at one of the extremities of the chamber, observing that no Turk is behind you. If his greatness be good enough to ask after your health, you must answer—'*My lord, I kiss the dust of your feet,*' and in all your replies never use the third person of the singular *.

"If his lordship has no suspected person near him, he will invite you to sit by his side, after sending away his domestics. This is the time, my children, that you must skilfully use your eloquence and your policy to obtain of his lordship, the whole, or part of what you wish to demand; and particularly to make an impression on his mind, that you may leave him prepossessed in your favour, and disposed to second your projects, whatever they may be.

"When you quit the chamber of his lordship be liberal to the persons of his suite. Give much gold to the great, as well as to the little; for if you forget a single individual, you do incalculable mischief. It is a custom admitted by all the grandees of the East. All those numerous attendants whom you see about them, are enriched only by the persons who visit their master †. Their wages do not amount to more than five francs a month; and yet you see them covered with rich stuffs and Cachimire shawls, which at the least may be valued at a thousand francs. The more generous and provident you are to these servants, the better will your affairs be conducted, they will prepossess their master in your favour and render access to him more easy.

* This custom is generally ascribed to the Fanariotes. I have vainly wished to maintain, that it was introduced by the Drogomans of European Ambassadors, their elders in the diplomacy and etiquette of Court. However this may be, such manner of speaking is become common throughout the Seraglio; and in the Harem the women use the third person singular, even when they address their inferiors.

† This practice must have been imported from *England*; where it is happily losing ground. T.

" By your success with the great lords you may one day attain the Drogomanate, and afterwards the Hospodariate.

" If you arrive at this dignity, forget not that the Greek Clergy detest you; and that you ought to oblige them to respect you, by persecuting such of its members as desire to enfranchise themselves from the Fanariote system. Whilst they remain submissive, you will readily govern the Greeks; because they will hold them under the domination of prejudice, and in obedience to your wishes. Then it is that you will be truly the chiefs of the Greek nation, and you will have a party among them.

" Recollect, my children, that the Fanariotes have in vain made secret efforts to destroy the Pachaliks, whether in Servia, or in the Morea, or in Cyprus; not with the intention of making the people independent, or *subject to their own laws*, but to place them under their authority, like the provinces of Moldavia and Walachia. Recollect this, if occasion presents you with the power to accomplish so enlarged a scheme."

We see, by what has just been read, that the children of the Prince receive perfidious counsels from their boyhood, which maintain an influence over all the actions of their lives. Called by their birth, and their political situation to the management of affairs, what spirit can they bring into their conduct, if not that which was impressed upon them in youth?

Defects of education, ambition and the care of riches, passive obedience to the system of the Fanariotes—are the qualities and the virtues of the Constantinopolitan Boyars!

After perusing these short details on the bad education which the sons of Boyars receive, the reader will not be sorry perhaps, to see some notices on that which they bestow upon their daughters. I have engaged, in the first chapter to prove, that the education of the Fanariote women is little formed to justify the empire which they would assume over public affairs.

Women have, in all countries of the world, a dominion over the mind of men. This dominion varies according to the degree of civilization in the people. Amongst one, beauty of person, and regularity of features excel all other advantages. With the French, grace and wit hold a supremacy over the gifts of nature. The influence of women, then, is relative; it differs in its means, but not in its results.

Women, to speak in the language of the Prince of French poets, are designed to polish the character of men,

"To change them, to render them better."

This is, at least, what they ought to do, in a civilized country, where education augments the value of their charms, and of their minds. Such influence may be salutary; but in a half barbarous country, where the education of the men is neglected, and where that of the women is only sketched, it cannot but be fatal. Pride and prejudice usurp the place of wisdom in a female who can only take counsel with her vanity.

In general vice reigns in courts, where women reign. This truth applicable to civilized countries, is, with greater reason, applicable to those which are only half civilized.

The Fanariote women are jealous, to a high degree, of domestic sway.

Let us now justify the opinion we have promulgated on their education.

Amongst the Fanariotes, as soon as a girl knows how to read and write, her literary education is completed: it pauses at the commencement. They neglect all that could adorn their minds. To the fine arts, they are strangers: music, painting, and dancing, which lend fascination to European ladies, are remote from their abodes. All the care of the mother is turned toward inspiring them with sentiments of studied coquetry;—the art of pleasing is the most important of their occupations. Thus, we observe in their carriage, an abandonment which is not natural; and their manner of speaking is marked by affectation. They educate them for the world more than for marriage; which they seek, in general, only to have the direction of their own conduct, and to govern their husbands. To be happy in their families, they impress upon them the necessity of obtaining an ascendency over their minds. They assert that this is the only method which can prevent a husband feeling the marriage tie as a burden. "For," said a mother one day to her daughter, "learn of me, that this ascendency is necessary to your happiness; and that you must try your power over men, before you are united to them. If, by your charms, or by your wit, you can subject them to your will, renounce marriage. You would not be so happy. Your husband will possess advantages over you, and reproach you, one

while for your coquetry, and at another for your extravagance. You would be able to do nothing that seemed not disagreeable to him; you would soon be only his wife. You would experience, by the preponderance that you permitted him to take, all the pride characteristic of men, and which gathers strength from our want of precaution. But to govern, my daughter, first study their weaknesses; know them, and dispose of them as you will.

" Ornaments are generally pleasing to men. Adorn yourself, because it is essential to please them. If you captivate their eyes you will be mistress of their hearts."

Such are the principles which the Fanariote damsels receive. When they become wives they practise them with much exactness, and even with success. They derive likewise, from nature, powerful means of seduction.

I have remarked that the Boyar ladies have, in general, very expressive countenances, assisted by quick and brilliant eyes; that their stature is elegant, heightened by careful embellishment. They appear, on a first approach, extremely reserved; modesty impresses upon their forehead that character of innocence which seduces and hurries one away. But after a moment's discourse their looks become animated, gaiety and even folly are substituted in the place of timidity; in short, a change is operated which always turns to their advantage, although it developes their hypocrisy. This conduct, all blamable as it is, the custom of the world calls a knowledge of life. " Thus," say their mothers, " it is necessary to conduct oneself in society, to show at once that we do not appear such as we are."

Even to their very smiles all has been dictated. They act only by instigation. Their hearts are always cold, and deprived, in some measure, of the virtues which are necessary to them. Vanity directs them from infancy, and it is the same feeling which governs them through the greater part of life, even in the most important actions.

I am going to relate a circumstance which will confirm what I have just advanced.

I was the physician and friend of the Grand Patriarch Cirillo, and under these titles regularly visited him. I loved his conversation. He was a man of wit, and of great integrity. One day on which he honoured me with an invitation to his table, I fan-

cied that I saw something which had crossed him. He wore a clouded aspect, and appeared strangely inattentive to what was going forward. When we had quitted table and every one had retired, I remarked it, and ventured to ask the cause of his distress. He replied, without hesitation, "My friend, I am constrained, in spite of myself, to do this day the most unheard of injustice, which is repugnant to my conscience, yet on which depends my place, my honour, and my life. I must disobey the infamous commands of the Fanariotes. They require me to pronounce a divorce between a Boyar woman and her husband, a marriage in which there has not been the least dissension. They have been united many years, and their nuptials have been blessed by the birth of a son, now fifteen months old. The husband is a perfectly honest man, but he is of the *Latin ritual*, and cannot therefore become a Boyar.

"This marriage had, in its very beginning, the consent of the parents of the lady, and of the prince.

"But now fortune having elevated this family, and vanity being paramount, especially on the side of the women, they wish, without respect to propriety, to dissolve a union recognised by the church, in order that the divorced may become the wife of a Boyar. They support it under the pretext that the husband is *Catholic*, and an enemy to the Fanariote system.

"They are surrounded by protectors powerful enough to force my religion, and place me in this cruel alternative—either to expose my existence or participate in an abominable act.

"This transaction is so much the more culpable since the husband has shewn himself remarkably generous. For, some days after his union, they shamefully deprived him of the agreement of marriage, which appointed his wife's dowry. He made no complaint, and exhibited a very rare disinterestedness, since you are aware that, according to our customs, a husband is completely master of his wife's portion.

"The divorce, it is true, is sanctioned by our laws; but to pronounce it there must be assigned such satisfactory reasons as will not startle a timorous conscience. The more privileges the church has given to us the more cautious we should be, when required to lend our ministry to these sort of public acts.

"In the present case I see nothing but ambition and perfidy;

and, I repeat, the command to dissolve this marriage has been intimated to me by the all-powerful Fanariotes, whom I have reason to fear."

"Does the wife," asked I, "consent willingly to this separation from her husband?"

"While she continued in her own house, she made some resistance," replied this respectable prelate, "but since her mother has allured her to the paternal home, from which she is unwilling to depart, she has totally changed her way of thinking. This is the effect of the bad counsels which they have given her, and of the perfidious insinuations of her unnatural parents. As for the rest, here are two letters which the husband has communicated to me, that will put you in full possession of the facts of this odious affair."

Letter from the Mother of the Young Wife.

"My daughter, I invite you once more to find a pretence for breaking your marriage, so that we may contract you to one more suitable to your rank: such is now offered you by Providence. Your present husband might suit you at a time when war with Russia, retarding the entrance of the princes into Walachia, did not permit us to unite you to a Boyar. But at this period, when your father, a Boyar, himself enjoys so lucrative a post, that he may hope in a few years to be extremely rich, we should be very glad to see you in the arms of a Boyar. Think, my daughter, how this new husband will load you with all favours; how, being his wife, you will be covered with jewels. Ah! what is wanting, my daughter, to bring you to that lofty station of glory and happiness? Is it either grace, or beauty, or nobility, or wit, or excellent qualities of the heart? In fine, is there not all which constitutes the true patrimony of a woman? Moreover, your father prepares for your new marriage a brilliant dowry; so that you will enjoy, in this fresh union, vast wealth. Think, my daughter, of the illustrious name of your family; and never forget that your husband was given to you in an hour of adversity, that he is not noble, and that he may now be replaced by a Fanariote. If, at first, this change appear outrageous, be comforted by the example of the Boyar maids whom necessity

had affianced to merchants, or to bankers of Constantinople. The return to our principality has annulled, as you know, all these connexions."

Reply of the Young Wife.

" My mother, your second letter occasions me to break silence, and I answer by this to your two dispatches.

" The husband to whom I am espoused was not my own choice: I did not wed him for love. You and my father gave me to him with the prince's consent. In accepting him I followed your wishes almost as much as your commands. I have no cause of complaint against him, and I am persuaded that you are now only dazzled by my father's fortune; and that your heart has no place in the counsels which you give me. In vain you endeavour to separate me from my husband. You offer me, you say, a Boyar who will confer great riches upon me, will cover me with jewels, and support my nobility. Do you imagine, my mother, that the husband whom you have given me is not noble? The noblest estate in my eyes is that which enables a man to succour humanity: my husband is a physician. His condition is preferable to the splendour of a Boyar, who is frequently established on the calamities of others. Ah! did he not give proof of nobility when he closed his eyes on your carrying off my marriage contract, the only title which confirmed my dowry? You abused, at this period, my confidence, in making me believe that to render the act binding it required the signature of the archbishop. You deprived us of this title, and my husband had sufficient greatness of soul not to proceed against you. He supplied me with a great moral lesson, for my indignation opposed itself to his generous disinterestedness. True nobility then is virtue; therefore, my mother, I entreat you find other means in your letters to deceive me. I will not suffer myself to be drawn away by the insinuations of my husband's enemies.

" Yet be assured, my mother, I condemn not your indiscretion. Your daughter can only deplore the ascendency which those who seek my hand, have assumed over you. Still I should like to know their names; and you would give me a proof of

tenderness in acquainting me with them. Pardon this ebullition of curiosity, it is common to all women*."

When I had examined these two letters I said to the Patriarch —"You have cause to apprehend the bad moral effects of this divorce, if you cannot avoid it; and I participate all your alarms in case of disobedience on your side to the commands of the Fanariotes. I know when they have imagined a scheme——" "Ah!" said the prelate, interrupting me, "they would rather be unchristened than relinquish it." "In the mean time," I returned, "let us not make these men more powerful than they are; let us trust that we may still resist them, without incurring the last penalties."—"In my place, what would you do?" said the Patriarch.—"In your place," I answered, "I would precipitate nothing at first, that I might not compromise my dignity; secondly, that I might give time for reflection to the parties interested. For in an affair so delicate we cannot proceed too gently. Your case, I see, is difficult; you are beset with solicitations and menaces. To show you how much I am devoted to your service, I will endeavour on the morrow to secure you from the vexations of the Fanariotes." The Patriarch approved my counsel, and accepted my offer.

I selected then amongst the ministers whom I had the honour to serve, him who could be most useful in this matter. And I could reckon upon him, because, in general, the grandees of the empire are thankful to their physician. The Patriarch had no trouble: but what was my astonishment when, on visiting him two years after, he told me, that fatigued by continual entreaties, and observing the change of moral feeling which had taken place in the young woman, as well as being apprehensive of her committing some folly, he had determined to summon the husband to complete the divorce. At the same moment the husband appeared, and I was present at the scene. The prelate first read the act of divorce, which I found laconic enough. After this he said to the husband, in a truly persuasive tone, "I well know, my friend, how painful your situation must be; I take a very sincere part in it—but credit me, since the Fanariote statutes

* The whole of this letter is extremely curious; but the concluding paragraph is admirable! T.

will have it so, you must consent to the divorce if you would live happily and tranquilly in the capital." The husband, scarce taking time to reflect, answered—"I follow your advice"—and signed the deed which annulled his marriage. The prelate would have testified his satisfaction, but he replied bluntly "that such a Fanariote folly required no compliments," and retired. Some years afterward, but little comforted by the conduct of her who was his wife, he took his child, realized his fortune, and quitted the capital that he might hear her mentioned no more.

The divorced wife reaped not all the fruit which she expected from her shameless conduct. She did not become the spouse of a Boyar, for they who had contrived this perfidy had no intention of marrying her: far more culpable views had guided them. They wished to humiliate the family by causing her to commit a dishonourable action, (because the same family had dared to unite their daughter to a *Catholic of the Latin ritual;)* and to destroy the reputation of the young woman, which in effect they did. She was pretty, and it was rather as a mistress than as a wife that they desired her.

This example might be supported by many others of the same kind, because, in fact, the education of the Fanariote women, and particularly of the Boyar women, is little calculated to form good wives. The bankers or merchants at Constantinople, and in general all the Greeks who do not belong to the Fanar, and have been indiscreet enough to marry Fanariotes, have experienced domestic troubles of this nature, and reverses of fortune. As the wife of a Boyar the Fanariote may be happy, if her husband given up to intrigue permit his wife to intrigue also; and especially to surrender herself to the pride of her rank, and to the vagaries of vanity.

When the Fanariote Boyars are on their return to Constantinople, as all are more or less wealthy, they begin to build or to buy a magnificent house, which they furnish with all the splendour of Europe and of the East. They enjoy peaceably in this capital the treasures which they have amassed in the provinces during the reign of their Hospodar. A Boyar of the third class possesses not less than a hundred thousand, or a hundred and fifty thousand francs, one of the second, four hundred thousand francs, and one of the first, if he be a relation of the prince, at

least a million. These sudden fortunes have been acquired illegally, as we have shown in the preceding chapters.

Their wives exhibit an overpowering luxury; for they have contracted a habit, in the principality, of imitating the wife of the Hospodar *.

They often assemble together—that is, the subjects of the same prince, and their days are occupied by games at cards, dancing, eating, and walking. But that which chiefly diverts them, is the recapitulation of the arbitrary acts which have signalized their conduct in the principalities. The women join equally in the conversation, and with a levity which never contradicts their frivolous character. They speak with extreme vivacity and agitation; and their language seems to fail the rapidity of their thoughts. In speaking, their features assume an expressiveness—a peculiarity of motion. The very sound of their voice has, if I may say so, a physiognomy. A serene and modest air, a temperate language and measured conversation, are considered by them as the external signs of ignorance or stupidity. They imagine that they can immediately fix the belief of their auditors, by using at every instant the following words: Na-zi-ô-Afthèndis, which means, *by the life of our prince.*

The Boyar relatives of princes are proud of their origin, and shew themselves foolishly jealous of their nobility. They readily make allusions to themselves. According to them, their ancestors have always enjoyed a great favour with the Sultan; and the safety of certain provinces, if not of the whole Turkish empire, has been due to their genius, and to the influence which they exercise over the deliberations of the Divan. According to them, the European or Ottoman historians have committed the utmost injustice with respect to their progenitors, by voluntary omis-

* Their costume is a mixture of Turkish and of European fashions, which has a very good effect. They make the greatest account of embroidery; and they have an admirable taste in the designs which they embroider. I believe that the Phrygians would have yielded them the palm. It exists, however, among the Phrygians as well as Fanariotes; with this difference, that the first trade with their embroidery, whilst the latter embroider for themselves. An ancient author tells us, that the Phrygian embroidery corrupted the manners of the Greeks; because it was offered in ostentation, and extremely sought after for its beauty and richness.

sions; and it is to jealousy, or to national pride, that they have sacrificed, (they say) the proclamation of those eminent services which they have rendered to the empire of the crescent. With a still higher tone they pronounce, when they perceive that the feats and exploits of their own fathers are silently passed over by modern biographers.

All those who have not been invested with the title of Boyar by their prince, are the objects of their ineffable contempt, notwithstanding the merit which they may discover. They describe them under the well-known appellation of *roturier*, or plebeian. A brave man, by their account, is a coxcomb, a clown, a bully—in short, in their language, a *Kabàday*.

They hold a learned man only as a plagiarist, and make no more of him than of a common person. Briefly in this manner they establish the superiority of nobility in their families. The most illustrious is he who can reckon among his ancestors the most princes and Boyars decapitated by order of the Sultan.

To distinguish the Fanariotes who have never had the honour of becoming Boyars, they introduce into the Greek language Walachian or Moldavian substantives. But, as this is only the effect of their vanity, and in order to shew people that they have been governors, or have held some other situation in the provinces, the nation have never sanctioned the admission; and these neologists do not enjoy the satisfaction of seeing them generally used.

The Boyars rarely think of the future. If they do, it is to dream of new honours, and new spoliations. You will very rarely see a Boyar think of strengthening his fortune, or of creating a fixed and certain revenue. His eyes are always turned toward his prince; he fancies he perceives the day when he will return to Jassy or to Bucharest.

Pride is a catching evil. Thus we perceive the relations of these new comers dream in turn of their honours, and abandon useful professions to place themselves on the lists, and solicit the great Calpac. They ruin themselves, after the example of their predecessors, before a prince presents himself who can associate them in his frauds.

This conduct of the Fanariote Boyars is displeasing neither to the princes nor princesses. They consider pride as an homage

rendered to their greatness. If they draw vanity from their title of Boyar, they ought to have a high veneration for the prince who has decorated them with it. If they commit expensive follies, if they ruin themselves by want of foresight, they will become only the more humble, more cringing; they will unite, after so many examples, pride with nobility, humbleness with misery.

As there is no rule without exception, it is requisite to say that there are some Boyars who know how to abstain from such conduct, and who order their affairs with more judgment, by depositing money in the chests of the archbishops. They could not do more prudently; since all industry is forbidden to a Boyar. It derogates from his rank; and would injure the reputation and credit of his prince, if he devoted himself to any profession.

But his highness soon finds the means of attacking the economy of the Boyar capitalists, and of placing their fortunes on a level with that of the other Boyars. And he does it in this way.

He calls the economical Boyars to him, and addresses them in the following terms: "My children, I have consumed all my fortune, and all that of the princess my wife, in order to solicit my return to Walachia, and to see you once more happy. I have now only a small difficulty to surmount, and my success is perfect. I want six or eight hundred thousand francs. You must lend them to me. In this sketch, I have divided the loan among you; and I have had respect to your particular means. Go; in eight hours bring me this sum. If it be necessary, I shall direct the archbishops and the treasurers of their dioceses to pay you without hesitation, and to renew their bonds. He of you, who refuses to assist me with the portion which I have allotted, shall not be my Boyar."

No Boyar refuses his money, and thus the prince receives assistance, often useful to the interests of those he patronizes, but more often still, to his own.

They do not always succeed in what they undertake; and in many circumstances their designs prove abortive, at the moment that they believe the end attained which they purpose to reach. Hence the steps and the sacrifices which the dispossessed princes make use of to return to favour, often conduct them to a more unhappy condition; and some, instead of returning to Bucharest, receive an order of banishment. His Boyars then share his dis-

grace; they hasten to sell the little property which remains to them, to procure, as they assert, subsistence for their families, who are, in general, very numerous. In public they appear overwhelmed under the weight of the most perfect misery; and thereby attract the regards of the compassionate.

Their state of suffering, if real, soon finishes. The chest of the dioceses comes to their relief; because it receives funds destined to relieve, by pensions, the families of the ex-princes as well as Boyars, whom circumstances have reduced to poverty.

Men, who lately looked with an eye of contempt on every one who was not a Boyar, are now necessitated to run to the house of this or that great man, and beg, aided by hypocritical language, favours which, for the most part, they have denied to others in similar conditions.

But this dejection is perhaps only transient. The Boyars often return to greatness by unexpected causes; and they return without profiting by their misfortunes. These they consider as the episodes of their life, and not as the warnings of Providence.

The princes and the Boyars are the strength of the Fanariote party; they are the acting members, the movers of its power. The clergy are only their auxiliaries, although they are powerful auxiliaries. All the rest of the Greek nation is, by the force of circumstances, grouped around this political body, which is, in some respect, a second state within the Ottoman empire.

CONCLUSIONS,

DRAWN FROM THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS.

Primitive nothingness of the Fanariotes—Quick elevation of the Fanariotes—Policy of the Sublime Porte in raising the Fanariotes to the Hospodariate—Motives which have induced the Sublime Porte to close its eyes on the tyranny of the Fanariote Hospodars—Reflections on the reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches—General reflections on the Revolution of 1821*—Probabilities of its success—What mode of Government would best suit the Greeks—On whom their choice ought to fall, should Greece become a Monarchy—Fears with which the Fanariotes ought to inspire the Greeks.*

I HAVE not yet attained the end which I proposed to myself in undertaking this work. I commenced by drawing an exact picture of the Fanariotes, and supporting it by undeniable facts. If I have digressed somewhat in the preceding chapters, it has not been with the intention of declining reflections of general interest, or of abstaining from questions of a high political character.

I am going then to retrace my steps, and submit to the judgment of my readers some observations on the important matters of which I have begun to treat. They will not stand solely on historical documents drawn from books, but on remarks made in the very midst of the people whom they concern, and suggested by events which have passed under my eyes. They will therefore possess that stamp of truth which ought to inspire a perfect confidence in those to whom I present them.

Much has already been written on the Greek nation, and the imposing part which it now plays before the eyes of all Europe

makes one presume that much more will be written about it. Certainly, that country, which for six hundred years, as one of the most ingenious writers of our days has observed, was *out of the law of nations*, deserves that we should be occupied with it. Its misfortunes are present enough to the memory of men, to attach some interest to the noble efforts which it now makes in perfecting the work of its regeneration.

My design is not to go back into preceding ages; I undertake not to write the calamitous history of Greece, but merely the evils which she has endured since the Fanariotes took an active part in the policy of this country. This confines me to the narrow limits of a century and a half.

I have discovered in the first pages of this work, the origin of the Fanariotes. We have seen that their families lived unknown in a quarter of Constantinople, called the *Fanar*; and that Panayotaki was the first who appeared in a post of government.

The insignificance in which the Fanariotes lived would have lasted, doubtless, for ages to come, if the celebrated Coprogli Pacha, in the protection which he gave to Panayotaki, had not laid the first foundations of their power. We may say also, that the siege of Candia, where Panayotaki became remarkable, was the original cause of their political existence.

The Greeks of the Fanar, before this memorable period, partook of the disgraces common to all the Greeks; and nothing announced that an aristocracy was about to be established among them, as vicious as powerful.

The illustrious families of the Eastern empire had not survived the destruction of the throne of Constantine Palæologus. The ferocious Mahomet II. had almost entirely destroyed, or so widely dispersed them, that we seek in vain, at Constantinople, for descendants of the celebrated families with which it was peopled before these disasters. The new aristocracy, therefore, could not establish itself on a base truly aristocratical—that is to say, on the nobility of names.

It is not that we no longer meet in the capital of the Turkish empire, Greek families, bearing names which were formerly celebrated; but the genealogy of these families would scarcely bear a rigid examination.

A modern historian has said, "That at the peace of Carlowitz, Mavrocordato, having played the part of principal negociator, was named, in consequence, Hospodar of Walachia and Moldavia; and that, thanks to his prudence, the offices of Hospodar and Drogoman were, from that time, assured to certain families." This learned writer and judicious statist, who rarely is mistaken, in this instance has committed an error. Alexander Mavrocordato was never Hospodar; but his son was, and later his grandson. This person, as we have seen before, was the last Hospodar created by the Boyars, and the first nominated by the Sublime Porte on re-establishing him in his principality *, according to the right, which since that period it has reserved to itself, of giving sovereigns to Moldavia and Walachia.

It is very true, that subsequently the Hospodariate and Drogomanate have been perpetuated in the families of *Mavrocordato*, *Mavrojeni*, who came originally from the Island of Mycone, in the Archipelago; *Ghika* of Albanese origin; *Racovvitza*, *Manol Voda*, of Asia minor; *Ipsilanti* and *Morousi*, of Trebizonde; *Callimaki*, a Moldavian; *Suzzo*, a Bulgarian; *Caratza*, a Ragusian; *Canzerli*, of Constantinople, &c.

It is then on these families that the destiny of Greece has rested. In esteem with the Divan, they represented, in some measure, the whole nation.

They might have drawn upon it the favour of the Sublime Porte, and have softened the weight of slavery. As soon as the Ottoman government had weakened itself by admitting a Raya into its bosom, a new fate presented itself to the Greek nation. From that period this unhappy people has failed to find, among the members of these families, a well-intentioned man of talent. The Fanariotes have seen all Greece within the compass of the Fanar. Out of it, they have said, that they had no country.

If it had been otherwise, would not the majority of the Fanariote princes who have been, in their quality of Drogoman of the

* See the Note in Page 284.

Divan, called to conferences which introduced peace, have obtained, by little and little, stipulations favourable to their fellow-citizens?

Around these privileged families, a considerable number of Boyars crowded—their servile creatures—formed by them. They were, as they still are, the slaves of their pleasure and policy. In short, princes and Boyars compose this new aristocracy; amongst whom, a modern historian recognises with me all the vices of ancient aristocracies.

The rapid increase of the power of the Fanariotes would astonish the most diligent observer. There is scarcely a circumstance favourable to these ambitious men which we have not seen darted into the arena of policy; and from the palace of the Vizier even to the centre of the seraglio, they have found means to introduce their schemes in aid of corruption.

In the preceding chapters, I have related after what manner they came to be represented at the Divan. As all their proceedings respected their own persons, and selfishness alone was their rule of conduct, I have been able to show no where, for want of example, the advantage of their influence on the affairs of Greece, properly speaking, as an equivalent for the share they have taken in the misfortunes of the nation. I believe this has been stated so clearly, as to render recapitulation unnecessary.

Aware of the evil which they have done, and satisfied of the good which they might have done, my indignation breaks forth: and I would acquire eloquence enough to expose them as they ought to be exposed before all the nations of Europe.

These men, whom historians have honoured with their favour, were not ignorant what the Turkish legislation was relative to the Greeks, and how necessary it was to supply modifications. They knew that, crushed under the weight of oppression, this ancient people, whose glory is written in the annals of the world, needed protection from their tyrants!

Will it be objected to me, that the Sublime Porte could not change its system towards those whom it calls infidels, and that the humiliations experienced by the Greeks result, in a great measure, from the consideration, that Osmanlees ought to be better treated than Christians; that every attempt would have

been fruitless; and that it would have wounded the pride of the arrogant Ottoman?

These objections may, indeed, at first, appear triumphant; but who will prove that they must be the consequence, and that if the Greeks had been represented in the Divan, their fate would not have been ameliorated? The choice which the Sublime Porte made of a Greek prince to govern Moldavia and Walachia, demonstrates that it is not so intolerant as we might imagine, and that it was possible to obtain concessions in favour of the Rayas, and to bring back that moderation which signalized the first years of Greek dependence. But the princes of the Fanar have preferred sacrificing to Plutus rather than to Minerva; and whilst the major part of the Greek nation groaned under the contempt of the Sultans, they swelled into Sultans themselves.

We have heard the archbishops; and their acknowledgment ought to throw a distinct light on whatever obscurities the secret plots of the Fanariotes might contain. In developing these plots which have proved so fatal to the Grecks, I have desired but to excuse the Turkish government; at least, to discover to those who have the management of a people, that the unhappiness of nations is less often the work of the chiefs, than of the subalterns whom they employ.

The Ottoman empire is not a monarchical government tempered by gentle manners, as are most of the other monarchies of Europe: it possesses not, as I have already said, a uniform administration. Its method is corrupt; since it tolerates a prodigious number of noblemen, who have each, in his own person, almost as much power as the Sultan. The sovereign authority being thus subdivided, the subject must necessarily suffer; because despotism is then seated in the place of justice.

The Ottoman empire being composed of different provinces, which are guided by their own laws, and considered by the government only as tributaries, if its attention be not alive to the conduct of its agents in the provinces, and to the necessities of the people, it must follow, that it will be directed by the advice of its agents, or by those who support oppression for their own emolument. Greece has always been in this predicament; and it is only too true, that the Fanariotes have never aroused the

Divan by generous supplications which might have lightened the chains of their fellow-countrymen.

This has made Greece lose the little liberty that she seemed to have preserved from the great shipwreck. Instead of a moderate capitation, such as was originally fixed, they have insensibly made the people support excessive imposts, and continual slavery. Its laws, which the conquest had not deprived them of, were contemned; eluded even by the Greeks; because they remained without force and without encouragement. And from such abandonment arose the excess of misery to which this people has been subject for many ages.

The Fanariotes are perfectly informed of this state of things; and I run no hazard in connecting them with the promoters of the calamities of the Greeks. For, I have stated, that they have made intrigue the soul of the Ottoman government, insomuch, that by its influence the Cadi is appointed, or a Grand Vizier decapitated.

No empire can offer a more spacious field for intrigue than the Ottoman; and intrigue never had servants more ravenous than the Fanariotes. They have served their own passions, and the passions of the great; and, any thing but courageous, they have yet exhibited courage, when necessary to satisfy their ambition; to brave the dangerous chances of struggles in the cabinet. If they have sometimes abandoned the standard of their master, it has never been with generous intentions, nor for the interest of the Greek nation. On this head I appeal to the conduct of the celebrated Cantemir, and that of so many other princes whom I forbear to name.

History, the great book of nations, declares, that the aggrandizement of the Ottoman empire was the fruit of victories; that the Osmanlees, now the scorn of Europe, long made the Christian powers and princes of Asia to tremble; that they threatened empires without apprehending a foreign invasion themselves; that the tents of the Grand Vizier were pitched under the walls of Vienna, and that Ammurath the Great took Bagdad by assault.

This vast body, governed by imperfect laws, has been maintained, says Ricaud, by supernatural causes. This opinion has exempted the historian from a labour which was above his genius.

The history of great empires requires great writers: that of the Turks has, I believe, still to appear.

The only power which has carried terror into the heart of the Seraglio, was the growing empire of Peter I. Under this Czar, the eagle of the north dimmed the lustre of the crescent. The Divan already thought that it beheld it on the *minarets* of St. Sophia. Nothing less than the affair at Pruth; the valour and talent of the Vizier Mehemet Baltagi could have dissipated its dread.

Bassaraba Brankovano, Hospodar of Walachia, and Cantemir, Prince of Moldavia, gave, at this period, the dangerous example of treason. The Divan opened its eyes on these two principalities, and wished, in order to diminish its fears, to confide the administration to subjects on whose fidelity it could reckon. This, at least, was the policy adopted by Mahmoud V. and his successors.

In removing the government of these provinces from the domination of the Boyars, the Sublime Porte preserved itself,—at all events, thought that it might preserve itself from the intelligences which the princes often had with the neighbouring powers; and which they considered, on more than one occasion, to have been fatal. For history has not yet pronounced upon the secret intentions of Brankovano and Cantemir.

There were then only two sides of the question to be adopted; that of making Pachaliks of the provinces of Moldavia and Walachia, or of governing them by the Rayas, its subjects. It chose the last alternative, which was conformable to the character of Mahmoud, a pacific and prudent prince. He established Constantine Mavrocordato in the principality. Better had it been for that unfortunate country, that the disgrace of this Hospodar had continued; for his administration was marked only by acts of tyranny, which neither the mildness of Sultan Mahmoud's government, nor that of the three emperors, under whose reigns he governed, could correct. He augmented, say the historians, to fifteen hundred thousand francs the tax paid on the accession of a new Hospodar; and of this his four returns to the Hospodariote was the occasion.

His successors have not left better examples; and the pages of history relative to the provinces of Moldavia and Walachia, if

written with a bold, impartial, and independent hand, would be filled only with the arbitrary acts of these new despots. The unfortunate occupiers of these provinces should groan at the bare names of Fanar and of Fanariote; they will have *that* in common with all the continental Greeks, and the isles of the Archipelago. The sorrows with which the former have to reproach the Hospodars and Boyars of Constantinople, bear some similarity to those which the latter object to the Drogomans of the Sublime Porte, and to all those vain-glorious Greeks, who, decorated with the pompous title of prince, have shamefully slumbered in their grandeur. If the Ottomans could have dreaded any thing from the favour granted by their Sultan to the infidels, their conduct would completely reassure them. For if the Greeks have broken the irons which wounded their hands, it was not by the assistance that they received from the proud Fanariotes. The cry of independence went not from the Fanar, nor from the servile lips which kiss *the dust imprinted by the feet of the Viziers.*

Have the Greeks of Constantinople, those even who live under the eyes of the grandees of the Fanar, obtained by the mediation of the Drogomans and pretended princes, any amelioration of their fate? Are they indebted to them for an existence, at least as free as that of the Armenians and Jews? This I shall now examine.

Besides the Greek population, Constantinople includes a considerable number of Jews and Armenians, who all surpass the Greeks of this capital in wealth.

The Jewish population amounts to about ten thousand individuals. One of them is treasurer of the Janissaries and of their Aga. These Israelites, the declared enemies of the Greeks, from their immense wealth, enjoy some influence with the great men of the empire.

But the most interesting Christian population at Constantinople is, beyond question, that of the Armenians *, of whom there are not less than twenty thousand individuals. Though divided in religious opinions, it is perfectly united: and this circumstance contributes not a little to the protection which is granted to it by the Turkish government.

* One part profess the Roman Catholic religion, and the other follow the precepts of the Eutycheans.

The Armenians are generally honest, laborious, and excellent merchants. Their banking-houses possess the greatest confidence. They are the depositaries of the major part of the property belonging to the Pachas and other great personages of the Turkish empire, as well as to private men. They make such advances to the Pachas as they may need before setting out for their Pachaliks; and it is an Armenian who is usually director-general of the monies of the Grand Seignor.

The Fanariotes think of themselves; the Armenians think of their nation. They have established amongst them a kind of contract, which contributes to the happiness of the great family. The Fanariotes never regard Greece; the Armenian always has his attention fixed upon his country. Thus, whilst the Greeks are a prey to all the miseries of oppression, the Armenians enjoy as much liberty as is consistent with Ottoman despotism.

Happy would it have been for Greece if the Fanariotes had imitated the conduct of the Armenians! We should not then see in the capital of the Turkish empire the freedom of the latter contrasted with the misery of the Greek Rayas. These compose the labouring class of the orthodox Christian population. They are divided into watermen, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, fishers of small fish, &c. whilst the Armenians are either bankers or merchants. If we reckon at Constantinople twenty merchants, who are Greeks, they are chiefly Moreotes, placed under the protection of Russia or England. Deduct the Boyars, and, with greater reason, the princes; and the remainder of the Greeks are the least happy of all the Christians who inhabit ancient Byzantium.

The Greek population of Constantinople, in a circle of fifteen leagues circumference, amounts, according to a census taken in 1818, and communicated by the Curés of parishes, to four thousand nine hundred families,

Composed of five persons, equalling ..... 24,500 individuals;
To which must be added, 2,350 strangers . . 2,350

Total.... 26,850 *

* Of all the people who inhabit Constantinople, the Greeks are the most scattered; which proceeds from this, that almost all the quarters hereafter

This population, as we see it, differs from that which many historians and travellers have described as existing in the capital of the Turkish empire. Their calculations would be still more erroneous, when we add to this census the Greek subjects of foreign powers, casually resident at Constantinople. From these 26,850 individuals, we must deduct the women, old men, and children; and it will not be under-rating it, if we estimate the number of Greeks at Constantinople, who are capable of acting, at ten thousand. I say capable of acting, although, from this quantity we ought to deduct also the merchants and manufacturers, who, in every country of the world, present an ineffective force, when an open resistance to an established government is called for.

This glimpse at the Greek population of Constantinople which I have supplied, is intended as an answer to all those that, from false notions, might have encouraged delusion, by propagating a belief, that the centre of the new revolution in Greece was in the Fanar; and that it is there the Ætairists were united.

In the first place, it was impossible that the plan of a revolt could be perfected in the middle of a population of ten thousand individuals; in the presence of six or seven hundred thousand adversaries; and more impossible still, that ideas of regeneration could issue from the enervated fancies of the Fanariote princes and Boyars. It is, therefore, a manifest and gratuitous error to attribute to the Greeks of Constantinople an active part in the glorious enterprise of the Hellenes of Peloponnesus and the Archipelago.

Before the princes of the Fanar, or the distinguished families of that quarter, could have exercised any influence over the Greek, it would have been necessary that their vain-glorious predecessors should merit a certain confidence; and no where can we find a circumstance which proves that the Fanariotes have ever thought of any thing but their own elevation. They were

named, enclose orthodox churches built by the ancestors of the present Greeks; viz. The Petri-Capi, Fanar, Balatà, Edirne-Capissi, Alty-Mermer, Psomathià, Wlanga, Yeni-Capi, Cuni-Capi, Isles-des-Princes, Cadi-Kioy, Scutary, Cous-Conzuk, Yeni-Mahalè, Bouyuk-Beré, Tharapià, Yeni-Kioy, Balta-Liman, Yssari, Bebeki, Arnaout-Kioy, Courù-Cesmè, Ortà-Kioy, Bescik-Tâche, Galata, Pera, Tatavla, Has-Kioy, Avaz-Kioy, and St. Stephanos.

educated for intrigue; and the generous contests which are engaged in for the deliverance of a people, require true courage and free and disinterested souls. Assuredly the Fanariote princes desire a change of circumstances; but a change for their own advantage. The idea of enfranchising their country from the Osmanlee yoke, has never for a moment smiled on them. They could easily conceive a little revolution in the Seraglio; but not a revolution which, by means of the Ipsariotes and Hydriotes, should burn the Capitan Pachas in their ships; and cause the walls of fortresses in the Morea to succumb under the impetuosity of the Greeks.

I except, however, from the number of these princes, the brave Ipsilanti: whose destiny appears distinct from that of the Sultans of the Fanar. His military exploits had already distinguished him in the armies of the Czar; for he lost his right hand at the battle of Culm. His great soul was framed for great actions. A single arm remained to him; and he was desirous of employing it in the deliverance of his country. He was ill-seconded in his enterprise; but Greece divined it, and the hour of its deliverance sounded in the belfries of the cities of the Ægean sea, as well as in the mountains of Taygetus *. Ipsilanti descends from the princes of that name; but he has never figured among the Boyars of Constantinople, nor been tainted with their vices. His ancestors have even merited in the bosom of corruption the titles of just and generous. Many monuments, erected both in Greece and in the provinces, attest the benefits of their administration, their taste for the fine arts, and for useful institutions.

As for the Ætairists, of whom we speak as often as the instigators of the late Greek revolution is spoken of, I am firmly persuaded, that they never existed in Constantinople. Two Fanariote Boyars have been suspected of revealing to the English ambassador, that there existed in the capital certain ramifications of a conspiracy which had issued from Moldavia and Walachia. These discoveries were brought to the knowledge of the Sultan, and occasioned many assassinations, the tragical end of Prince Morousi, of the venerable Patriarch Gregory, and of several archbishops †.

* That is, says Colonel Voutier, a Philhellenist, from Calavrita, a little city of Achaia, which sent forth the first movement of insurrection, March 23, 1821.

† The English ambassador, at that period, was Lord Strangford, since super-

These Boyars were influenced unquestionably by ambitious views. They wished to attract the favours of the Divan, whom existing circumstances disquieted. In effect, whilst Greece was a prey to all the distresses of an unequal struggle, these two persons, whom I forbear to name, enjoyed an influence with the Sublime Porte which certainly was not employed in behalf of the Hellenes.

If the Ætairists had existed in Greece, it would certainly have been perceived at the period of the last war of Russia against the Turks; and I am not aware, that at this time they spoke of any union of men known under such denomination.

M. Raffenel, in his "*Histoire des Evénemens de la Grèce*," published in 1822, speaks of this conspiracy; but as a discreet historian, he relates the circumstances only under an ambiguous form.

I am going to sketch out some passages which will explain the first cause of those great events of which Greece is now the theatre, and which, I believe, more authentic than the pre-existence of the Ætairists.

The inhabitants of the Morea enjoyed, in the Turkish empire, a high reputation for bravery and sagacity. They are not easily deceived; and they inspire in the Osmanlees much greater terror and suspicion than all the other inhabitants of Greece. The Turks say always to their children, "suspect *Morali-Seïtan*, or those devils the Moreotes." The weight of the chains which they carried, till the occasion which placed the buckler in their hands, might well arouse their circumspection. The pages of history are bloodied with the recital of slaughters committed by the Ottomahs, in 1770, on the unfortunate Moreotes. These slaughters have left in the peninsula memorials of vengeance.

From that fatal æra, the Ottomans have rendered their domination more unsupportable still to the inhabitants of Peloponnesus. Besides the oppressive authority of the Beys or feodal princes, they had also to support that of the Pachas of the Sublime Porte, greedy and barbarous proconsuls.

The Moreotes never forgot the proud and cruel conduct of

seded. It were to be wished, that this nobleman would condescend to explain his share in the proceeding, and throw off the heavy load of opprobrium which has long been attached to his character. T.

Veli Pacha, the worthy son of the ferocious Ali, Pacha of Janina. This man who assembled in his own person all the vices which afflict humanity, exercised with impunity, till 1815, oriental despotism in the Morea, in all its purity.

The Moreotes, wearied out by the exactions of this man, many times carried their complaints to the feet of the Sultan, but always without success. If they beheld him afterwards fall from power, it was for a very different cause than the oppression which he exercised on them.

The successor of Veli Pacha did not console the Moreotes. He was another despot who loaded them with new misfortunes. He respected their women and their religion; but he devoured the substance of their labours, and drenched them with humiliations.

Ali, Pacha of Janina, desolated, for more than thirty years, three fourths of Roumelia. He was the terror of it. His fortune, which seemed invincible, for a long time lowered the Ottoman empire in the eyes of Europe.

The Divan directed against this despot its military resources, which amounted even to twenty-four thousand men, but never achieved his submission. Haled Effendi knew that another power than that of arms paralysed the forces of the Sultan; and, as soon as it was known, the Gengis of Roumelia fell.

This power was the protection which the tyrant of Janina found in the suzeran lords of the Porte. He made them understand, that the preservation of their authority was essentially bound up with his own. All those chiefs, who led troops against the feeble soldiers of Ali, acted on this idea; and the standard of the rebel Pacha prevailed over that of the Sultan. Haled perceived this; and speedily these suzeran lords were converted into Pachas, and the number of Pachaliks almost doubled in the Turkish provinces.

This measure overthrew the power of Ali, but it considerably augmented the misery of the Rayas. All these new Pachas came armed with a despotic right, and enhanced the tyranny of the suzeran lords; for the last had some interest in sparing their subjects; instead of which the Pachas, accidentally governors of the country, employed the short period of their reign to wring them. And this they did with so little modesty, that the majority of the rich Rayas bought for a sum of money authority to sell their patrimony, and retire to Constantinople.

As soon as this authority was obtained, a cloud of Turks, eager to profit by the misfortunes of the Rayas, offered to become purchasers of the property, sold, in some degree, by a compulsatory expropriation; and they acquired it usually at a low price.

Emigrations became so frequent, that the quarters at Constantinople, set apart for Christian habitations, wanted houses. They built upon all the vacant ground in the interior of the streets, and the quarters became extremely augmented.

The Porte began to fear the depopulation of the provinces, and, in 1818, caused boundaries to be put around the Christian quarters at Constantinople, to indicate that they should no longer build thereon. It even ordered some houses, already built at the extremity of the quarters, to be pulled down.

Certain Ottomans afterwards constructed vast houses in the Christian quarters, which they let out at excessive rates * to the Rayas. These real estates yield to the proprietors a per centage on their capital of twenty and even twenty-five per annum.

Would we know a yet farther cause of the last revolution, for it seems that men obstinately refuse to admit the idea of an oppressed people being always ready for revolt, let us go back to the reign of the celebrated Husseïn, Capitan Pacha of Selim III. We shall observe this admiral protect the Greek marine of the Archipelago, with the design of withdrawing from Russia the influence which she exercised over it by a protection which the Sublime Porte could not oppose. The Greeks, under the government of this politic minister, over-run the seas beneath the flag of the Rayas, and troubles, with respect to them, were at an end. But, at the death of Husseïn, affairs assumed another aspect.

* Lodgings were so dear in the Christian quarters, that a house containing five or six chambers, paid at the rate of from five to six thousand francs per annum. These houses are built of wood, ill partitioned and infected with bugs. A similar house, situated in the Turkish quarter, would not bring the proprietor above five hundred piastres [two hundred and fifty shillings]. But what Mussulman dare let his house in a Turkish quarter to an infidel? None; for it would expose him to a thousand injuries from the government, which rigorously forbids it.

Whenever a Christian wishes to repair his house, he can only do it by paying a large sum to the engineer-in-chief, known under the name of *Meima-Bâchi*. If it is situated on the canal, it is paid to the *Bostangi-Bâchi*, or steersman of the Grand Seignor's barge.

The sailors of the Archipelago experienced the return of tyranny, and saw themselves constrained to require the protection of Russia, by purchasing property in the dominions of the Czar. By this means they hoisted the Muscovite flag, and sailed with perfect security over the seas of the Levant, and through the whole extent of the Mediterranean. They acted even with extraordinary prudence; for though Russian subjects, they never refused to pay the taxes imposed on the Rayas, and to receive at Constantinople the ensigns of the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth ortas of Janissaries *. Turkish policy did not perceive that the augmentation of the Greek marine was, in a degree, out of all proportion, and that it veiled secret designs. The beauty of the ships, their strength and numerous equipments would have aroused the attention of every other government. But Hussein was no more; and that which would have caused the prosperity of the Ottoman marine has turned, as we see by experience, to its ruin.

The Rayas who do not sail under a Russian flag are afflicted with unheard-of vexations; so that the Hydriote, Spetziote, and Ipsariote ships, insensibly abandoned a flag which did not protect them, in order to hoist that which rid them of oppression. Of late, scarcely fifty vessels could be counted under the flag of the Rayas, and these were exceedingly small.

I am about to give an idea of the trouble experienced by the Greeks who sailed under the flag of the Rayas, by the narration of a fact which passed under my own eyes.

A few years ago, a fine Greek vessel of Ipsara, Captain Michael Kiparissi, set out from Alexandria in Egypt for Salonica, with a lading of rice, sugar, coffee, &c. On receiving it on board, the captain perceived that a part of the rice, arrived at Alexandria by a caravan, was wet. He made the remark, and refused to take it into his vessel. But they objected that the moisture could not be dangerous, considering the short duration of the voyage; and

* By means of these ensigns, they obtain the protection of the Janissaries, charged with the police of the port.

The captains of foreign vessels usually refuse them, being protected by their respective ambassadors. But the Greek Rayas always receive them, though sailing under a Russian flag. They act politically in this; and avoid difficulties in obtaining places for their ships, &c. It even appears, that they act in this manner by the advice of Russia.

for the rest, they would supply him with a certificate, attesting the condition of the rice. This was accordingly done; the captain took in his cargo, and set sail. He was overtaken by a violent tempest, which constrained him to put into Ipsara, to obtain a cable and replace his anchors which had been lost. He then left Ipsara for his destination. On arriving at Salonica, and landing the cargo, it was discovered that the rice was damaged, although it had been stowed between two other articles of merchandise which were not found wet. The rice was the property of a Turkish house. The chief custom-house officer, uncle of Bekir, Pacha of Salonica, blustered about this damage, pretended that it had received injury from the other part of the cargo, and exacted from the captain thirty-four thousand francs as an equivalent. The Ipsariote presented, in his defence, the certificate of the custom-house officer at Alexandria; but they tore it arbitrarily from him. They even threatened him with capital punishment, and the confiscation of his ship, if, in three days, the sum for which he had just been condemned was not paid.

The unfortunate captain protested his innocence, and sought protection from every one near the Pacha. I was the physician of this Vizier, and it was thought right to apply to me. He came and related his disagreeable situation, entreating me to interest himself for him with his highness. I felt the difficulty of this commission, because the officer of the customs was not only uncle to the Pacha,—but his farmer. I did not hesitate, however, and hastened to the palace.

As soon as I entered into the presence of Bekir*, and had pro-

* This Bekir Pacha descends from princes who conquered the Morea, and who possessed the title of Bey or Baron. He quietly enjoyed his immense fortune on his fief in the Morea; but in consequence of the system of Haled Effendi, was nominated, to his infinite displeasure, Pacha of Salonica.

Haled Effendi, the favorite of the Grand Seignor, had formed the project of turning into Pachaliks all the great Seignories of the Turkish empire, by which he could dispose of their persons and property at his will: and feodality, after a while, be overthrown in the Turkish empire. This policy, in the language of diplomatists, was prejudicial to the Porte, inasmuch as it provoked all these little potentates, over whom, in their quality of Prince Suzeran, it exercised no authority. It had only the power to oblige them to reside at Constantinople.

They say, that the greater part of these princes avoided the Pachalik by means of a large sum of money, which they each contributed to the imperial treasure.

nounced the name of the captain, the Pacha burst into a fury. He would not permit me to speak, and ordered me very roughly to leave his cabinet: adding, that the captain was a dishonest man whom he would decapitate as soon as he would *snuff a candle;* that I should meddle with physic, and not with the affairs of the customs. I departed, in fact, much annoyed at the bad success of my undertaking, as well as at the kind of insult which it had procured me.

I found the captain at my house. The account which I gave him was far from satisfactory. However, the three days were not expired, and I promised to return to the Pacha, while I exhorted him to resignation.

On the morrow, after reflecting for a few minutes, I presented myself before the Pacha. I was received with a kindness which I did not expect. After replying to several of his questions, I said, "My lord, the harsh manner in which you received me yesterday, will not permit me to have any longer the honour of serving you. I entreat permission to return to Constantinople, where I shall regret having been unable to obtain of his highness an act of justice, of which the refusal will be a blot upon his life. As for myself, I was far from foreseeing the little influence which I had over him. Having shared with him the dangers of the war, in the camp of Schumla, I thought that I should have some sway over his mind, especially when I came only to solicit an act of justice and humanity." The Pacha smiled, observing, that he had no wish that we should separate; and he wrote immediately on a little piece of paper, an order which warranted the life of the

I had predicted Bekir's nomination to the Pachalik three months before it took place; but his avarice deterred him from setting aside the firman, which sent him to Salonica.

The aim of Haled Effendi in abolishing the feodal system, was to procure for the Sublime Porte fifty Pachas of three tails, who were extremely wealthy. Every Pacha, said he, being able to raise at least fifty thousand men, the Divan, in case of war, would have at its disposal an army of more than two millions of men, which might give law to Europe and Asia. By this means a period might be put to the intestine wars which desolate the interior of the Turkish empire: wars which the suzeran princes have usually made amongst themselves.

The invention of this vast project is ascribed to the genius of Michael Suzzo. In recompence, Haled Effendi demanded, with earnestness of Russia, amongst its numerous *ultimata*, the surrender of that fugitive prince; no doubt with the intention of ornamenting the gate of the Seraglio with his head.

captain, provided he set out that instant from Salonica, without requiring twelve thousand francs for the freight that he had a right to from the consignees of the merchandise, which he had brought from Alexandria.

There was, on that day, a terrible tempest. The sea raged with a fury which presented nothing but perils to the navigator who should brave it. It was impossible to make this excuse available; and I carried to the unfortunate Ipsariote a formal order for his putting to sea. He was obliged to obey the will of the Pacha. He set out, indignant at heart, and determined to obtain vengeance for the arbitrary act of which he was the innocent victim.

He escaped, by a kind of miracle, the shipwreck which menaced him, and proceeded to his own island, to communicate to his countrymen of the Archipelago, a portion of the rage which possessed his heart. I have since learnt, that his hatred to the Mussulmans has not been idle; and that he is at this day none of the least courageous captains of the insular fleets.

I might accompany the relation of this fact, by that of many others which would confirm what I have advanced—viz. that the vexations experienced by the Greek marine have been one of the causes of the revolt of the Hellénes; and one of the most efficient causes. For without the humiliations to which these brave sailors have been subject, the revolution which now menaces the Ottoman power in Europe would perhaps have been limited to the hazardous enterprise of the bold Ipsilanti. Without the support of the vessels of the Archipelago, there is not the least doubt, notwithstanding the valour of the Moreotes, that the standard of the crescent would still wave on the ramparts of the fortresses of the Morea and Athens.

The events which passed at Constantinople in 1821—that is to say, the massacre of the greater part of the Greeks and their dispersion, have, beyond question, given a heavy blow to the power of the Fanariotes. But I do not consider it as totally subdued; and I think I perceive, even in the influence which the two Boyar informers enjoy, the pillar to which their new preponderance will have recourse. I see it threatening the destinies of Greece, if not provided against by the regenerators of Attica. I shall return by and by to this subject: it shall terminate the work,

which I have undertaken only to be useful to my country. My object has not been to make a book, but to enlighten my fellow-countrymen by the lessons of the past. If I attain it, I shall not regret my labour.

It belongs to the warrior to serve his country in the lists of arms. The philosopher, who cannot fight, owes it the assistance of his pen, and that of historical communication. It is this tribute which I would pay to our beautiful Greece.

Mouradja d' Ohsson affirms, and I will not contradict him in this respect, that the Hospodar Princes never personally address the Sultans; that Prince Mathias Ghika was the first who received permission to speak to the Sovereign, and that it was limited to make vows for his prosperity.

In a similar manner, adds the same historian, the Sultan never speaks to the Prince; but sometimes says to the Grand Vizier "Let him be zealous and faithful, attentive to the interests of the subjects of the empire, and exact in the payment of his tribute."

The Firmans of appointment and annual confirmation, whether to the Prince, or to the Pacha, invariably recommend to the officers the protection which is due to the Rayas. But these recommendations are, in general, only vain formulas, which the indifference of Ministers on the extortions of Princes and Pachas render completely illusory.

The Hospodars, more than any other of the officers of state, commit arbitrary acts, and trample under foot that protection which they have promised to the subjects of the Sultan. The remonstrances of the Seraglio never arrive to disturb their tyranny.

We may easily explain the indifference of the Ottoman ministers on this subject.

In the first place, the delegate of the Prince at Constantinople forgets nothing for the preservation of his favour with the Divan. Formerly feasts flowed in upon the Ministers; but since they have been abolished by the favorites Haled Effendi, and Hazi Halljd Effendi, we have reason to believe that these sort of homages are paid to the Seraglio. This is better still for the Hospodars.

In the second place, the poverty of the Tchurans rendering their submission less doubtful, they could not find a method

more favourable to perpetuate it, than to close their eyes on the extortions of the Princes.

As the Sublime Porte draws a tribute from the provinces, it is convenient to leave an arbitrary power to the Hospodar Princes. If they become rich, the imperial treasure loses nothing by it; and if they become too rich, they are acquainted with the most expeditious means of easing them of their funds; and in this case, exile is an admirable circumstance. It produces their removal, and the entrance of a new dignitary, who will pay, as it is but reasonable, the tax imposed upon his happy accession, almost at the same time that his predecessor will purchase, with a load of gold, the term of his banishment, or the preservation of his own existence.

They know at Constantinople, better than elsewhere, the niceties of venality; and the love of gold is, for the greatest, as well as the least, an incurable malady.

I am assured, but find some difficulty in crediting it, that the Divan was not sorry that the Walachians and Moldavians had a political existence less happy than the other Rayas of the Sublime Porte; that the tyranny of the Hospodars was more bitter, more unsupportable than that of the Pachas: in short, they were pleased, that the Rayas should wish to be governed by any other system than that of the inhabitants of the provinces. This policy might reap its fruit, but it is repugnant to humanity. It is a measure too cruel to gild the chains of its slaves. It is altogether as barbarous a policy as that which obliges subjects to pay money to a sovereign for not having done them an injury.

It may suit the views of a government like that of Turkey to permit the same terror to reign in the cities of the provinces, as usually reigns at Constantinople. This cannot be, but by closing its eyes upon the conduct of governors; by suffering itself to believe that the people have nothing to trouble them, and that, if their rulers do not commit more evil, it is because they are unwilling to do so. Like that Pacha who was content to cut off every day only the seven heads which the law permitted.

The expedients made use of by the Porte to punish falsehoods when it will take the trouble to observe them, consist in exile and decapitation. It examines sluggishly into the conduct of its agents. There would indeed be palpable injustice, if it should punish the

real faults of extortioners, while it has profited by their extortions. Thus, the instances are very rare, where the anger of the Divan falls on the head of a Prince, in punishment of oppressive acts. When a Hospodar's head is taken off, it is in consequence of some political or financial treason; or where the state has believed itself lulled asleep while conspiracies were plotting against it. In any thing else, the Princes have enjoyed, as tranquilly as they would, the fruit of their rapine. But a tranquil life is not suitable to an Ex-Hospodar. Motion is necessary to him; and exile would be held preferable to a monotonous existence apart from intrigue."

I have already said that an extraordinary change must take place in the mode of Turkish government, before the happiness of its subjects becomes the work of the public functionaries. In the present state of things, the Divan is obliged to tolerate the omnipotence of the great men—even to protect it. Despotism makes, in some measure, the strength of this Empire, as order and justice make those of regular governments, and temperate monarchies.

The will of the Divan has no stability. A Hospodar, dispossessed, exiled, or even removed from his principality, if he make a timely use of his treasures and his patronage, is sure of returning from Constantinople; and even to his province, rather than to the place of exile which has been designed for him *.

The influence of the Fanariote party at Constantinople, is prejudicial to the power of the great, and fatal to the Greeks. It has now prevailed for a very many years; and so much was it aggrandized, that to a certain degree it became the government. It has lost three fourths of its importance since 1821; but it will grow again, because it has ties of relationship with the policy of certain European powers; and because its mediation is indispensable, so long as the Sultan shall conceal himself from the eyes of the pretended infidel, and European ambassadors shall speak to the Vizier by any other mouth than their own.

It is hurtful to the omnipotence of the great, because all authority which does not act by itself—which is subordinate to a

* Of this number are the Princes Hancherli and Suzzo known under the name of Michael Vodà, &c. &c.

foreign influence, proceeds irregularly, and is never mistress of her own movements. A Grand Vizier wishes to execute a project which is attached to great objects, and to useful views. But this project is injurious to the power of the Fanariote party, which would maintain itself, and keep a high hand on public affairs. At the same instant, intrigue and corruption oppose the execution of this project; and invincible auxiliaries, such as the ambassadors of mighty powers, interpose in behalf of this party, whose necessities they serve; and the project of the Vizier is not put in force.

This power which can act on the will of a Vizier, may, with stronger reason, extend its influence over other functionaries. It is thus that the Fanariotes govern the Turkish empire, without ostensibly putting a hand upon the reins of this vast state.

This influence has to the present time been fatal to the Greek people. On this respect, I think that I have said as much as it is necessary to say in the body of my work. It has been fatal to the Greeks, because it has never acted in their favour; and because the Fanariotes have always seconded the views of the Divan, whose object has been to accomplish and to maintain the slavery of the Hellenes. Like those tribunes of the people, dumb in the rostrum, and sold, as the Roman senate, to the will of the consuls, their absence from the Divan had proved a benefit to Greece. For if it had not had a representative near the Sublime Porte, it would not have had, at least, men interested in its oppression.

One of the most talented men who have enlightened the world, wrote about fifty years ago, the following sentiment; "Virtuous people, for fourteen centuries past, have lamented that the Greek and Latin churches should always be rivals; and that the robe of Jesus Christ, which was without seam, should have been rent from the top to the bottom."

Circumstances have not since changed; and I believe that centuries will yet flow away before Rome and Constantinople cause their motives for disunion to pass away.

When differences in matters of religion have received the sanction of ages they are converted into points of doctrine, and cases of conscience; fanaticism takes possession of the mind, and it becomes nearly impracticable to combat it usefully.

It was easy for Photius and John VIII. to have prevented the schism which was prepared in 879, and unhappily consummated in 1054. It was little necessary, at this epoch to offer to the world the scandal of a division among the sons of the same church; it should be very necessary now to destroy it.

I shall not enter into the discussion of points which divide the churches of the East and West. It would draw me too far; besides, the books and registers of the Œcumenical councils are open to my readers: if they love to feed upon the wanderings and weaknesses of the human mind, they may have recourse to them.

In my quality of a son of the Roman Church, I would sincerely desire the supremacy of the chair of St. Peter: In my quality of a philosopher, I wish that men were neither divided by political opinions nor by religious opinions; but principally, in my quality of Greek, that they should not renew in our days, and under the present circumstances, those lamentable disputes, which delivered up the throne of Constantine to the sword of the Osmanlees, and the dome of Saint Sophia to the worship of the prophet of Mecca.

What the empire of the east lost, would again at this day be lost, by unhappy Greece. The strength, which she employs against her oppressors, will turn against itself, if they revive, amongst the Hellenes, the ancient quarrels of religion. If a new council were to assemble to work a coalition between the two churches, it would not have, I am persuaded, a more happy effect than that held at Florence in 1439. Minds are not prepared for so great an event. It would be of as much advantage to the Greeks, as if the Mufti presided at the Council, and its decrees were executed by the orders of the Sultan.

Minds are not prepared for this great event, because the Greeks of to-day are not much better instructed, than were those at the time when an approach between Rome and Byzantium was attempted for the first time. Ignorance and superstition have made too much progress under the reign of slavery, to lead one to hope for concessions in faith, on the part of such an essentially fanatic people.

Neither the clergy nor people of Greece are what they were before the conquest of Constantinople. Doubtless, the spirit of

controversy would be much less nervous, the people would not amuse themselves at present with sophistical subtleties, nor with the eloquence of dispute. It would not oppose by the voice of its orators, nor by its writers, argument for argument. It would use violence perhaps; and the first of the clergy who should speak in favour of reform, would infallibly become the victim of his zeal. For it would be difficult for the people to renounce a belief which this same clergy preached to them just before, under other forms. That distrust, which is natural to a Greek, would make him suspect some project of treason.

Let us leave the Greeks to collect the fruits of their efforts, and receive, under a protecting government, the benefits of instruction. Then it will be time perhaps to make them comprehend high truths; to associate them with the glory of great nations. At this period they will see only the sacrifices which are required of their faith, and will make no account of those which would be made to conciliate opinion. We can neither use, nor make prosperous among an unenlightened people, the arguments which would draw over a civilized people. We should encounter obstacles from the one, and assistance from the other.

To propose to a nation combating for religion the admission of a new faith, is to seek to alter the source of their courage and devotion: it is to desire the overthrow of the standard of Constantine.

I have not read the work, which M. Schmidt has just published at Vienna, on the possibility of reuniting the two churches of the East and West. But I am tempted to suspect the intentions of the book, and of its author. If they wish to persuade us that this work may be executed in our days, they deceive themselves, and would deceive us. M. Schmidt would, in this case, have drawn his conclusions from libraries; and it is among the orthodox Greeks, in the country of Greece, and under existing circumstances, that he ought to have drawn them. The dogmatical reasonings of a German writer, however specious they may be, will find in the religious zeal of the Greeks an invincible obstacle. He would vainly preach reform to a people who would present themselves as martyrs to the new missionaries.

But I do not think that the work of M. Schmidt includes principles so generous as to maintain that all the sacrifices for the

production of this union should spring from one side. * In that case I should be obliged to modify my opinion, and dispatch the book and its author for the sanction of the Roman Church.

The debasement under which the clergy of the East has fallen might facilitate a reform if the faithful of this church were capable of feeling its necessity. But, I repeat it, they are still the slaves of ignorance. We shall not even find their bishops persuasive apostles; and if there exist a small number of such, the first words that they should pronounce in favour of the reunion of the two churches would draw upon them the same anathema which struck John Palæologus and his Patriarch, for denying at Florence a single point of doctrine * to the prejudice of their church; and for recognizing the supremacy of the pope. And let it be carefully observed, that, at this period, the Orthodox Church was not, as it now is, surrounded by quicksands. It was not at Constantinople under the yoke of the Osmanlees, nor influenced from without by powerful States interested in the abasement of Rome. The storm muttered from afar, but the empire of the East still existed. At the æra of the separation of the two churches in 1054 we might have healed the wound: it was then new; it is now become inveterate—I had almost said incurable.

There is in Europe a colossal empire, governed by a powerful monarch, who directs a skilful cabinet. The inhabitants of this empire follow the religion of the Greek Church, called the Orthodox, with this difference, that they do not acknowledge the Patriarch of Constantinople, and that their church is governed by the decisions of a synod composed of fourteen bishops or archimandrites—a monument of the genius and foresight of Peter the Great.

Would they from this empire project and accomplish the reunion of the two churches? An idea so vast at first strikes us with surprise; and my mind experiences a sudden impression

* It was acknowledged at this council that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son by the work of inspiration; that the Father communicates every thing to the Son except his paternity; and that the Son has, from all eternity, the productive virtue by which the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Son as from the Father.

which I cannot overcome. Are we doomed to behold prodigies—miracles in the nineteenth century?

Yet it is impossible, when we talk of reuniting the Eastern with the Latin Church, not to think of the faith of the Russians. Its importance is enough to cause religious or political writers to give a few moments to the consideration.

This idea of reunion is cheering to the Christian philosopher. It presented itself to the kings of France, who, for the most part, have not been remarkable for their great piety.

I speak it with regret: the moment has not yet arrived when the errors of the Emperor Michael Carulaire [Cerularius] and of the Patriarch Phocius can be repaired; not only because the independence of Greece is undetermined, but yet more because the necessary elements to produce the fusion of belief are not prepared.

Things will therefore remain stationary, as in the seventeenth century.

All these obstacles are not imaginary; they are as real as the evident difficulty of subduing them.

All calculations and problematical reasonings will avail nothing against these facts.

Shall I present fresh proofs in support of my arguments? I will draw them from the fanaticism of the Greeks. We see daily, at Constantinople, Greeks who, in consequence of the excess of an alkaline drink, embrace the errors of Islamism; but these men, returning afterwards to their reason, trample the turban under their feet in the presence of the Moslems, sign their abjuration, and courageously suffer martyrdom.

Have we not recently seen young Greeks, and more especially women, permit themselves to be barbarously crucified—to be sawn between two planks, and burnt alive, rather than accept the life and liberty offered by the Turks, on condition that they should abandon their worship and become Mahommedans? And have we not been thunderstruck at the examples just given by those young virgins of Attica, who, when enslaved by the Turks, mutually destroyed themselves, to escape being compelled to change their religion?

But it will be objected that these heroic instances relate to the abjuration of Christianity, and it would not be the same sacrifice

that we should require of the Church of the East. Some dogmatical concessions are all that we ask. True: but I believe that these concessions would not be made!

They annually anathematize, the first Sunday in Lent, in the temples of the Orthodox ritual, every individual of that church who is accused of heresy. This anathema produces a moral effect difficult to describe; it maintains, above all, an implacable hatred among the Greeks.

Since the last revolution they have felt that it was impolitic to cherish a violent animosity, which would turn to the disadvantage of the great family; and the anathema is now only pronounced at Constantinople.

The reunion of the two churches presents to the mind of ordinary men but few difficulties. It consists only in some formulas: that the *Credo* be sung at Constantinople as in the Church of St. Maria-Major, at Rome, and all is finished. That the Greek archbishops be invested in the Vatican, and the robe of Jesus Christ will be again untorn. I desire, with all my soul, that these difficulties be removed with the same facility that ordinary men think they may. The Christian world would receive more splendour, and my country more glory.

But before these wishes are realized let me be permitted to form others, whose success perhaps is less difficult and more near.

I wish that the Greeks, instructed by misfortune, may lift from the degradation of the Osmanlees the worship of the man-god; that the vicar of Jesus Christ be no longer at the devotion of the sectaries of Mahommed, and of the Fanariotes; that the Greek government, if Providence will it to be free and independent, monarchical or republican, after the example of Peter the Great, may convoke a synod, from whence it shall raise up the clergy of the Eastern church. This institution, which has given peace to the Russian Church, would reform the morality of the Greek. It possesses in its bosom virtuous prelates, the honour and glory of Evangelical worship. Such alone can obviate the depravity hurled into the dioceses by Fanariote hands, and remove from the altar those men who receive investiture from the Vizier at the gate of the Seraglio: ambitious apostles who dishonour the priesthood, because they have none of that Christian humility which invites and retains in the fold the flock of the Shepherd of

the Holy City. Men who bear, on the contrary, in the exercise of their functions, Fanariote pride and a spirit of intrigue which corrupts every thing. Let the observations of the archbishops which we have transcribed in the third chapter of this work, be recalled here.

I wish, in the mean while, that the voice of reason may be triumphantly heard; that the unhappy dislike which exists between Christians of the two churches may be softened by means which will from this day be in men's power. And, amongst these means there is one of which I invoke the assistance, that is, the reform of the Greek Calendar in the Church of the East. Let them wisely adopt the use of the Gregorian Calendar, according to the practice of civilized people, and which astronomical calculations have demonstrated in perfect relation to the march of the stars, and to the system of the world. We shall then see no longer in the people of Greece a party of Christians in the consternation of grief occasioned by the anniversary of the death of the Son of God, and the other in joy at his resurrection. This contrast produces an inexpressible sensation; and I have always considered it as one of the causes of that animosity which reigns among the faithful of the two churches.

There have been gradually introduced into the ceremonies and customs of the Eastern Church, for about a century, certain innovations which have nothing in common with the points of doctrine that established the schism. But they have increased the barrier which separates the two churches. These innovations are the work of cupidity and ambition. The long fasts which they oblige the faithful to support—fasts which, from their rigour, are prejudicial to soldiers; the numerous feasts which draw artisans from their labour; the prohibiting marriages to be blessed when one of the party shall not be of the Orthodox Church: these precepts, and especially the last, are opposed to an approximation between the two worships. Let them reform these innovations, and they will have made a great step toward the reunion of the churches; and still more when the priests of both authorize the one to study the Latin language, and the other to learn the Greek. This is foolishly interdicted at present, with the view, no doubt, of maintaining the lamentable disunion which exists between the two churches.

Is it not ridiculous to see the major part of the Greeks of the Latin Church make use of Roman characters in writing Greek words, and unable to read the writing which is traced in national letters? This places shackles upon the correspondence between individuals of the same country!

And here the reproach particularly addresses itself to the clergy of the Latin ritual. Better instructed than the Orthodox clergy, they ought to disengage the Greeks from this extravagant superstition, for their ignorance is a disgrace at which Europe smiles. A Greek who can write the language of his country is an object of derision; and I know not by what name to call those who make their want of knowledge a religious tenet.

If the counsels of wisdom prevail over the fancies of a religious spirit, if they entrust the grand work of reunion to a moderate temper, our posterity will one day be able to say that the two churches *were* divided. But, once more, let us trust to time; let us precipitate nothing in a question of such high importance. It requires a reformation of manners sanctioned by ages, and become legitimate in the eyes of the vulgar *. Let us not impede the rapid march of the Hellenes on the new ground which they run over: it is before them that they ought to look, and not behind them. Victory, which has for three years followed their standard, may become weary, and withdraw her favours, if she perceive them ready to divide on points of religious belief. God has once permitted the Greek nation to become the slave of the Osmanlees—let us fear that it may be again! Let us recollect, beyond all, that the chaste daughters of Sion refused to sing the songs of the Lord on the banks of the Euphrates †.

Let me not be accused of lukewarmness for the faith of my fathers. I have for it that rational warmth which renders it even yet more precious: I would see it assume dominion in every place where it meets obstruction; but I desire it after its own spirit. I was educated under the eyes and by the lessons of an

* These ideas, just when applied to the Greeks, are equally so with respect to the *Roman Catholics*. The author seems not to be aware how nearly they touch himself and his own religion. T.

† "*How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?*" Psalm cxxxvii. 4.

uncle*, who in an apostleship of sixty years caused the morality of the Gospel to be loved and cherished. Attached to the Church of Rome, I offer sincere wishes for the increase of its glory!

Empires are subject to revolutions; they are a consequence of the instability of human things. The best governed people dream of changes; people who are oppressed effect them. This was the situation of the Greeks in 1821. All Europe knew their misfortunes: the one part set bounds to their complaints, the other despised them—because, said they, the Greeks complain in their slavery.

What false opinions have not men supported relative to the Greek nation! Buried under the filth of oppression, it would not, in the language of its detractors, undertake any thing which approached to its ancient glory: it possessed only ignorance, cowardice, and insincerity. When it seized the first favourable moment to raise its head, and look its oppressors in the face, these same men treated it as rashness. They called its awakening to independence rebellion. In their unjust prejudice they assimilate —they contrast the insurrectional movement of Greece with the military revolutions of Spain, of Naples, and Piedmont.

All Europe has been continually deceived upon the conduct of the Greek nation. Free itself, it regarded with an eye of contempt the descendants of Themistocles and Miltiades; enslaved, to the disgrace of Christian kings, by the fierce soldiers of Asia. It conceived that every generous sentiment, every elevation of soul, was for ever extinguished in Attica. True, too many ages had been reckoned since the servitude of the Greeks; and it might, therefore, appear natural, that a people habituated to slavery, had made society of its chains.

* John Zallony, native of the Island of Tino, studied at Rome, where he was a member of the Propaganda. This venerable pastor has left memorials dear to his fellow-countrymen, to whom he long preached the Gospel with no ordinary eloquence. He was a canon, and afterwards first Vicar to the Bishop of Tino, and died in this island toward the conclusion of the last century, aged 97 years.

My gratitude pays these eulogiums to his memory with so much the more sincerity, since I am sure that they will be agreeable to all those who knew him, and appreciated his virtues and vast learning.

A number of examples, however, have taught Europe that the sleep of this people was not lethargic; that it wanted only a man in Greece to urge it to shake off the humiliating yoke of the Osmanlees.

That man it long expected. He might have appeared on the ruins of Athens, in Thessaly, or on the banks of the Eurotas, at a time when the alarmed sultans trembled for their power. Destiny willed that he should discover himself at a later hour in the ancient territory of the Daci. That man was Ipsilanti. He showed himself only for a moment; but his voice was heard over all Greece. And whilst he himself passed into captivity, *she* accelerated the destruction of her own.

The impulse which was set at work in Moldavia was not an isolated achievement. Greece, in silence, long ago prepared the glorious work of her deliverance; and from the first day of its execution, the island fleets went forth, as it were by enchantment, from behind the moles that concealed them, and signalized by victories their first attacks upon the Ottoman ships.

Force of arms caused the independence of Greece to fall; it is by force of arms that the Hellenes have attempted to regain it. We cannot assimilate them to those unquiet people who, weary of their legitimate government, would change it for another. The Ottomans were never their legitimate sovereigns. The Greeks were, with respect to the sultan, only the fatal inheritance bequeathed by the sword of Mahomet II.: they are prisoners of war who have at length delivered themselves. No treaty, I believe, exists, which acknowledges the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte over the Greeks.

And admitting that there had been a convention between the conquerors and the conquered, by which the last styled themselves subjects of the Sublime Porte—such a contract could but be considered the effect of violence. Obliterate the interval of a few ages, and we establish the rights of the Greeks.

On the first news of the Greek insurrection all the nations of Christendom uttered a cry of joy. The grandeur of the undertaking inspired at first apprehension in those who generously interested themselves in their success; but hope speedily brought consolation. They thought that the moment was arrived when a powerful empire would realize the projects devised by a great

sovereign. Delusive hope! The policy of Laybach left Greece alone; and the Hellenes were given up to their own strength. Europe, since 1821, has resembled the spectatress of a bloody tournament, where the crescent disputed with the cross, the classic land of arts, and the cradle of civilization. Already the Ottomans have been driven out of the lists; and it is at its outposts that the battle now rages. Attica has beheld its oppressors fly, and the Ægean sea is covered with the wrecks of the floating fortresses of the sanguinary Osmanlees.

All that the Greeks have done, since their patriotic revival, resembles a prodigy. They were, in 1821, slaves, and disarmed. They are, in 1824, free, and as well armed as their opponents. In 1821 the struggle was unequal, and hopeless; we even distinguished at that time much insubordination, and much crime abroad. We unhappily perceived in the chiefs a great avidity for riches, whilst the soldiers were overwhelmed with misery. Strangers, who flocked to the provinces bordering on the banks of the Eurotas, were the sorrowful witnesses of these shameful calamities; but they fought not the less valiantly for the cause of Greece, whose sanctity triumphs over these first disorders. Now all is changed: harmony and honour direct the Greeks*, and the Sublime Porte fears for herself. All proud as she is, she casts an unquiet glance toward the Senate of Argos †. In 1821 certain hostile voices resounded through Europe; now the regeneration of the Greeks finds reprovers only amongst men without soul—without generosity, as without shame; and who, entirely sold to the power which pays them, have never known what it was to compassionate the misfortunes of a people. Not even one of the organs of the Ottomans ‡ denies the boldness and rational valour of the Hellenes. A few more hours of victory § and Eu-

* I wish I could say that this picture was not overcharged; but *I believe that it will come to pass!* T.

† The seat of government was established here for a time; and at *the* time when this work was written. It now appears permanently fixed at Napoli di Romania. T.

‡ *Le Spectateur Oriental*—one of the most infamous and impudent journals that ever dishonoured a public press. The editor is a Frenchman; and the least scrupulous perhaps either of editors or Frenchmen! T.

§ At the moment in which I write this work, the French journals announce

ropean policy will speak loudly. The apparent neutrality which it now maintains, involves, no doubt, the most extensive combinations. It is not credible that Christian monarchs will replace

the intention of the Grand Vizier to march against the Greeks of the Morea at the head of 80 ortas of Janissaries *. This intelligence, which might at first inspire some apprehension in the partizans of the Hellenes, ought, I think, to give them confidence. This army, in my opinion, presents only a numerical force. It is composed of a horde of soldiers, who march to battle without tactics, without discipline, and without order. It will be neither more powerful, nor better conducted than the 234,000 Turks, who in 1811 were, in my presence, beaten from Cayaly-Deré by 8,000 Russians, and forced, after having suffered an immense loss, to return to the camp at Schumla. We know besides in Europe the inconveniences attached to these great armies, who, trusting to their numerical force, march without fear, without prudence, and without stores. Instead of exciting terror in their adversaries, they ought, on the contrary, to inspire a feeling of joy. The first shock of the new army of the Grand Vizier might be dreadful, but the consequences will be disastrous for the crescent. Once subdued, it would be replaced only by Asiatic troops, more dangerous to the power which employs them, than to the enemies whom they desire to fight.

Some persons, full of the recollections of history, will oppose to me the ancient feats of arms of the Janissaries; and more particularly, perhaps, the famous affair of Pruth, which the Muscovites have forgot. They would also cite against me the battle of Varna, gained by Sultan Amurath; that of Mohatz, glorious for the expedition of Soliman II; that of Agria, where the Pacha Cicala defeated the Hungarians; lastly, the siege of Vienna by Cara Mustapha, *etc.* I will not deny that the Ottoman arms have had their brilliant periods. Without them, would the crescent have reigned in Europe?—Who is ignorant that the Janissaries gained victories which assured Egypt, Syria, and Constantinople to the Turks?

At this day, things are different. The Sultan has Janissaries, but neither army, nor generals, nor treasure, nor soldiers: to judge by the disasters which his empire has experienced, we should believe that he had no longer Mahommed for a support.

To the united Greeks, masters of formidable positions, this cloud of Janissaries, insubordinate and feeble, brutified by religious fanaticism, and insensible to every sentiment of national honour, can but be a scare-crow.

Moral force gains more battles than the number of companies. Under these circumstances the Greek flies to the contest in defence of his religion, liberty, family, and property. The Turk marches to it, because a firman of the Grand Seignor orders him to follow the Grand Vizier to the army. I need not prophecy on which side the *moral force* will act.

* This was intended; but the Janissaries refused to march, and the Sultan, (Selim,) who hoped by this means to get rid of them, had nearly been deposed and murdered for starting the proposition. T.

under the Mussulman yoke the elect of the Gospel. They know that the Mahommedan religion, as Montesquieu has said, which speaks only of the sword, acts also on men with that destructive spirit which has established it: and that there would be no safety for the existing race, if they relapsed under the sultan's authority.

The inflexibility of governments, observes the immortal author of the *Spirit of the Laws*, is instrumental in destroying natural sentiments, by means of natural sentiments themselves. Amongst the unfortunate Suliotes you may draw examples in support of this great truth. They swarm in the interior of Greece. And is it under the discipline of a government, which by its despotism caused the son to be destroyed by the mother, and the daughter by the father, that the Greeks are to be replaced?—No: the idea is too oppressive to be dwelt upon a single moment. The nineteenth age will not witness the subjection of my country. On the contrary, her regeneration will smile in history, like the re-establishment of the throne of the Bourbons in France. These two æras will indicate to our posterity the watchfulness of Providence.

The independence of Greece proclaimed and recognized by the sovereigns of the earth, hypothetically speaking, what is the government which will be entrusted with its preservation?

This question is of great importance. For people know, by experience, that it is often less difficult to acquire freedom, than to preserve it when it is obtained.

It is to be presumed that the mode of government which it will suit Greece to adopt, either with relation to herself, or to the other people of Europe, is now the grand question which agitates royal councils.

This opinion may appear hazardous, especially to men who still doubt the triumph of the Grecian cause. It appears to me, natural and nothing problematical to judge of it by the progress of the Greek Revolution. The obstacles which the Hellenes have surmounted, were the only ones which could appear to them insurmountable. They have now little to fear from their natural and ostensible enemies, left to their own resources. As to the policy of kings, interested in this high struggle, either I have not conceived it, or it is not hostile. If it ever become so, unhappy

Greece will be no more, in the eyes of Europe, than one vast mausoleum, guarded by the Turks. Let us return to the more consoling thought of the independence of this most beautiful portion of the world.

Will its government be monarchical, aristocratical, democratical, or republican? Are there among the Greeks the elements necessary for the constitution of a regular government? Are its manners proper for the maintenance of an established order?

If we consult the detractors of Greece, they will answer that this people are unworthy to figure in the rank of nations; that it cannot, when enfranchised, make a good use of freedom; and that it is necessary, as an illustrious statist has said, to make republicans before you can make a republic. Thus, they would require, as already they have done, that the people should be sent to a political school, to learn in what manner they ought to obey.

Assuredly, I am very far from avowing that the Greeks are at this day sufficiently advanced in politics to erect themselves into legislators. They have as yet only that science of warfare, where courage holds the place of generalship. They want experience in administration, and in fact, the knowledge of administration; but if they adopt a temperate monarchical government, the prince who directs them could be surrounded by men skilful in the art of governing; who would bring back into this wretched country the justice and peace which for such a length of time appeared to be exiled.

A monarchical government is the only one which can suit Greece. There does not exist either the elements of an aristocracy, nor the virtues necessary for a republic. As to a democratical government, it would be the most dangerous of all, because the Greeks are unprovided with that instruction which tempers human passions, and places boundaries to the emotions of pride.

Besides, Greece must conciliate the esteem of Europe, if she desires its support. Experience has proved that the monarchical government is, of all governments, the most proper to maintain stability in the affairs, and peace amongst the people of a great state. Greece then ought to adopt it.

Every other government which should have a tendency to

maintain amongst them the fire of discord, could only be displeasing to all cabinets. The knowledge of the age has made liberty the want of every nation; of that liberty only, which prospers under the tutelary protection of the throne,—of that liberty which is hostile to every species of tyranny. Greece fights not to commute her chains. She fights not to give herself wholly up to the ambition of her warriors, to be continually an apple of discord for those who should have contributed to her deliverance.

If the Senate of Argos had possessed the ear of the monarchs of Europe; if, to the regeneration of Greece had not been attached high political considerations;—if she could be indifferent to all diplomacies, there is no doubt but that the Greeks would have already ranked under the laws of a monarch; and that at his bidding only they would have marched against the Mussulmans. But such is the progress of great events. It must move slower and be more reflected upon, than that of the narrow sphere of circumstances which disarrange but the affairs of a feodal lord. The building up anew of the throne of the east, before becoming another wheel added to the grand machine of politic order, ought to have the unanimous consent of every potentate, Turkey excepted. This consent obtained, it would be necessary, I believe, to profit by the first days of its independence, and erect Greece into an hereditary monarchy. Its people will then receive, as a benefit, a code of laws, which by reuniting them under the authority of an individual, would establish their rights, and lay the foundation of true civil liberty on the sacrifices which each ought to make in favour of the general interest—on natural freedom. If the reign of liberty in Greece be suffered to continue without bound and without rule, the establishment of order will encounter more obstacles; and they will accept, as it were constrainedly, what at first would have been received as a benefit.

I conclude upon the establishment of an hereditary monarchy, because I see the moral impossibility of establishing a republic in Greece, even a federative republic. If we had regard only to its topographical situation, no doubt this last mode of government would be preferable to every other. But we must consider the people; for it is for them that governments are established, and not for the places. I speak with sincerity—Greece could not support a republic: she would, from its commencement, be the prey of intestine broils.

As for the government of a democracy, it ought not to be mentioned. A philosopher has said, that if there were a nation of gods, he would govern them democratically. But a government so perfect is not suited to men. Greece is not peopled with gods.

I forbear giving an opinion on the government of an aristocracy, because on carefully regarding the situation of Greece, I see nowhere the principles which constitute that form of government.

But, in indulging wishes for the establishment of an hereditary monarchy in Greece, I design not to deprive my countrymen of the benefits of liberty. And as that is never fixed upon the steps of an absolute throne, I would have this monarchy tempered, as in France, by guardian institutions, which protect the people against itself, against the encroachments of power, and the tyranny of the great. I wish the prince to reign with splendour, and with that superintending authority which constitutes the glory and the power of a people; but let him uphold his power on those fundamental laws which equally place the sceptre and the subject beyond the influence of revolutions: scourges, with which the Divine wrath sometimes afflicts the inhabitants of both worlds, for the example of people and kings.

The Greeks have the lessons of history for their guide; and the past ought not to be lost upon them. Let them examine it, but in such a manner, as not to forget that the present aspect o Europe is not as it formerly was; that, if they wish to go along with other nations, they must adopt European policy. And let them not, above all, be hurried away by the magical delusions of memory, nor by that self love which continually follows glorious performances, and unexpected triumphs.

If wisdom does not consolidate their work, it will fall as those empires have fallen, which had only victory for their counsellor. Let them fear, lest after having subdued the enemy from without, they should turn their own arms against themselves. Intestine divisions, whatever be their object, are destructive, and consuming: they prepare and perfect the slavery of nations.

The *Spectateur Oriental*, a political journal, printed at Smyrna, has not ceased to represent the Greeks as divided amongst themselves. The French journals have not overlooked this assertion;

and their opinions, which are more disinterested than those of the Oriental Gazette, seem to establish an ambitious rivalry, and dissimilar views, in Colocotroni and Mavrocordato, the two most conspicuous leaders of the Greek revolution. I have long dreaded this division. When I reflect upon the personal qualities of these two generals, and when I see the self-love of the first menaced by the second, I fear, lest one day these two men should mutually destroy each other, or perish in the ruins of the country which they will have overturned, if wisdom do not inspire them, or the senate of Argos interfere with resolution.

Mavrocordato and Colocotroni proceed, doubtless, toward the same end—the deliverance of Greece: but they appear to proceed with adverse opinions, and under contrary influence. To judge by the language of the journals, Colocotroni would be the man for Russia, and Mavrocordato for England. These suppositions, entirely diplomatic, can only be presented under doubtful forms, and be appreciated only by appearances, more or less attractive. In the actual state of European policy, it is a question which we can more easily ask than resolve. When a people fight for liberty it is difficult to know at the time in what degree it may interest kings; and when their emancipation may disarrange the political balance, it is still more difficult to foresee what will be the fetters and springs which will be put in motion to draw the advantage to themselves.

The problematical reasonings of diplomatists and statists are supported, or ought invariably to be supported, by probability. In this view, if we suppose that the particular conduct of Colocotroni is influenced by the Russian cabinet, what does M. de Minziaki at Constantinople?—If Mavrocordato follow the impulse of the cabinet at St. James's, what signifies the mediation of Lord Strangford *? In brief, would the Greeks resign themselves to a snare? Would they wish to spare the Turks the labour of destroying them? On this last hypothesis, would not the council of Argos be composed merely of automata?

Let it be confessed, too often we attach imaginary branches to the conduct of certain men. Colocotroni, as well as Mavrocor-

* If I may trust my presentiments, we shall see one day that these two diplomatists have only lost their time at Constantinople.

The opinion of this shrewd writer has, I think, been fully verified. T.

dato, obey only their ambition, and are neither influenced nor seconded in their course by any European cabinet. They may abuse the credulity of the common people to augment their party; but if it be true, as I wish to believe, that the policy of sovereigns needs not condescend to petty subterfuges, or to immoral resources, such as those which would establish two camps in a nation—these two chiefs can only fall before the majesty of the senate of Argos, whom we ought to consider as the sole authority from whence coercive measures should emanate.

Assuredly, the ambition of these two warriors may, for the moment, be very fatal to the Greek cause. A great man, speaking from the pulpit, said of ambition, that "this insatiable desire of elevating oneself beneath, and even on the ruins of others; this worm which stings the heart, and never leaves it tranquil;* this passion, which is the grand spring of intrigues, and of all the agitations of courts—which forms the revolutions of states, and gives every day new spectacles to the world; this passion, which dares every thing, and to which nothing is painful, is yet a vice even more pernicious to empires than idleness *."

As this work will doubtless be read by the men whom circumstances have placed at the head of the Greeks, I wish them to meditate upon these observations. If they understand the sense, Greece may yet be free: if they despise the spirit of them, she will resume her chains. Men who cannot look beforehand are not fit for any regeneration.

I am going, after the conceit of those who place Colocotroni and Mavrocordato in the different interests of Russia and England, to give a reason for the motives which would have engaged these chiefs to separate themselves from the common cause, in order to serve their private ambition and the interests of such and such a cabinet.

But I ought first to make them more distinctly known by placing them in contrast.

Theodore Colocotroni was born in the Morea about the year 1767, of the celebrated Colocotroni, chief of the Kleftes †,

* Massillon—*Minor Lent—Temptation of the Great.*

† This word *Kleftes*, which in Greek signifies *robbers*, has been given by the Turks to the pirates of the Archipelago. As the topographical situation of Maina, a district of the Morea, rendered difficult the complete submission of the

who died a victim to the horrible treachery of the Turks. Habituated, like his men, to a free but fearful existence, he has pre-

Peloponnesus, the inhabitants of this country have preserved a sort of independence. They are descended from the ancient Lacedæmonians, and are as brave as they were. They regard the Turks with implacable hatred; they devastate their villages, and plunder their cruisers.

Ali, Pacha of Janina, protected them for his own interest. He even created many bands of Kleftes, with which he deluged Roumelia. The chief called himself captain of the Kleftes, and received an order to lay waste the districts which were not dependent on him. Ali used these means to engage the Sublime Porte to attach such districts to those which he commanded. He succeeded, and from that moment Roumelia was no longer ravaged by the Kleftes. Ali Pacha did not dismiss them entirely; he spread them over the different districts, and they were then distinguished by the name of *Kleftes Proskiniti*, a sort of guard of the country.

The Kleftes feel themselves always honoured by the dgsignation, because they do not consider it according to the derivation of the word. Organized under the influence of a powerful authority, and commanded by certain chiefs, they cannot, with reason, account themselves robbers.

I am about to relate a circumstance which will make the Kleftes better known.

During my residence at Veria * I was invited by the most respectable merchants to accompany them on a pilgrimage which they wished to make, with their wives, to a convent called *Prodromos*, situated in the neighbourhood of Castoria. Their invitation was not altogether disinterested; because in my quality of physician to Bekir, Pacha of Salonica, I became their protection. The Convent of Prodromos is seated in one of the most picturesque and delicious situations, but it is rarely visited by Christians on account of the insecurity of the road, and the wildness of the access to it.

After going over one side of the country near the convent, having admired the casualties of nature which it afforded to the eye of the spectator, and paid our respects to the *Caloyers*, we seated ourselves on the margin of a limpid stream to partake of a homely repast, which consisted of a lamb roasted whole, according to the custom of the country. Scarcely had we concluded our rural feast, when we beheld descending from the wooded side of a hill fifteen swarthy figures, formidably armed. The *Igoumenos*, chief of the convent, who was with us, said that they were the robbers, or Kleftes. At these words I persuaded our ladies to conceal their jewels, and particularly the pearls with which their heads were sumptuously decorated; but they declined, assuring me that the Kleftes commanded by Capitan Diamanti † were not brigands. In fact, they approached us, and far from offering any molestation, reproached us with the im-

* A beautiful little village, twelve leagues west of Salonica.

† This Klefti now plays a considerable part among the Hellenes. He commands a powerful body of troops, among whom they reckon a vast number of Kleftes, who have a great reputation in Greece for bravery, boldness, and love of independence.

served that savage character of the inhabitants of Menâle, which covers, nevertheless, a lively mind, and virtues truly stoical.

After having been long formidable to the Turks, he was constrained, by the force of circumstances, to abandon his mountains, and enter into the ranks of the Greek troops, whom the French government of the Seven Islands maintained.

Passionately fond of glory and independence, he heard the first cries of liberty uttered by the inhabitants of Taygetus. He set out from Zante, where he had lived in great retirement, with a feeble escort of seven men, and disembarked at the port of Koracos. From that period he has never ceased pursuing with martial ardour the Ottoman troops; and attacking them with success even in their formidable citadels. Colocotroni, one may assert, possesses, in an eminent degree, that communicative valour which supposes every species of courage. Confident, and inured to warlike labours, he imparts to the souls of the Hellenes a portion of that ardour which conducts him to battle.

Unhappily, his love of glory has been, from the first, tarnished

prudence we had committed in coming to this solitary place without an escort. They objected that we might have been overtaken by the Turkish vagrants of Veria, who would not have failed to despoil us.—"As to the vagrants of Veria," I replied in my turn, "we have nothing to fear from them; the Pacha having given such orders that they would not venture to pass the river: but it is you whom we should fear, since we are on the territories of Ali Pacha."—"You have nothing to fear from us," said they, "though soldiers of Ali Pacha, we are Kleftes Proskiniti, entrusted with the protection of the convent and its environs." I then learnt that the Kleftes Proskiniti were not robbers, but subject-troops.

The Igoumenos had quitted us to make preparations for the dinner of these brave men.

Toward evening there passed through these parts twenty wandering Abbanese Turks. They did not enter the convent. They limited their demands to some bread and onions, for which they paid with scrupulous exactness. I was astonished at this wise and moderate conduct; but the Igoumenos repressed my surprise by drawing from his portfolio a small square piece of very dirty paper, on which were written these words in extremely bad Greek.

"By this present notice I forbid every Turkish traveller to enter the Convent of Prodromos. I order them to require nothing from the Caloyers without paying for it beforehand, and not to sleep here. Every one disobeying this order shall pay for the infraction with his head."

Lower down was the mark of a very small seal bearing the signature of *Tepedenli Ali Pacha.*

by the love of riches, and the thirst for honours. A man full of bravery and zeal, he thinks himself entitled, as soon as he enters the field of battle at the head of some thousands—he thinks himself entitled, I say, to rule; and acting under the delusion, he imagines that courage in a leader will stand in the room of all other virtues. The taking of Tripolitza, due to the valour of his troops, and doubtless to his talents, ought, in his opinion, to profit Greece less than himself. He haughtily threatened to abandon the cause of the Greeks if the command of the conquered place was not given, in preference, to his son. This favour, for good reasons we may believe, was refused; but they promised to proclaim that the choice of the government had been sanctioned by him; and this satisfied him.

He testified himself, at a later period, not less discontented at the lukewarmness which they evinced toward his services; and the indecision which the Greek Senate discovered when he solicited, in concurrence with Mavromichali, the post of generalissimo, has made him, as they assure us, a declared enemy to the system of government which now reigns in Greece.

We know what have been his claims after the taking of Napoli di Romania.

Why should ambition inopportunely appear to weaken the virtues of such a man? Greece needed not this new misfortune; and we must hope, that Colocotroni, a hero truly essential to the Hellenes, will comprehend that there is no true greatness of soul without personal disinterestedness.

Alexander Mavrocordato descends, as I have already observed *, from the princes of that name, who went forth from the Fanar to govern Moldavia and Walachia. He was latterly employed under Prince Caratza, Hospodar of Walachia. It is generally admitted, that he gave proof of some talents in the administration of affairs, which he directed in his quality of *Postelnicos*, an office which approaches that of minister for foreign affairs. When Caratza was obliged to relinquish his government, and fly into Germany, Mavrocordato followed, and even accompanied him to Geneva and Pisa. It is said, that he has profited by the experience which he gained in travelling over many parts of Europe.

* See page 285.

His birth, his education, and character, would not permit him to remain an inactive spectator of the great events which were passing in Peloponnesus. Besides, the Grecian blood, which flowed in his veins, sufficiently indicated, that his place was marked out in the ranks of the Hellenes, where the clarion sounded to battle.

He arrived at Marseilles in the month of June, 1821; and after having made a short abode in this city, sailed for the Peloponnesus, conducting a number of Greeks who had come from Germany. He embarked a considerable quantity of ammunition and arms. His voyage was fortunate, and it was not without emotion that he landed on the shores of Greece.

Demetrius Ipsilanti, who then held the reins of government, invested him with his powers, and placed him at the head of the Roumeliotes, who had just declared their independence. This was the commencement of his glorious labours.

After honourably fulfilling his mission, and putting into some order the affairs of Ætolia and Acarnania, Mavrocordato returned to Argos. He wished to devote himself to the organization of the legislature; but whether he experienced some obstacles to his desires, or that his genius for war then carried him away, he quitted that city, and directed his steps toward Corinth. Somewhat later, he was chosen president of the executive power; and it was in this character that he signed, at Epidaurus, the 13th of January, 1822, the provisional constitution of the Greeks.

Since that period, Mavrocordato has never ceased to give unmeasured proofs of devotion to the cause of independence. He has not belied, in a single instance, the opinion which I had formed of him. When I saw him at Marseilles, I thought I discovered a happy union of enthusiasm and reflection, blended with the most perfect courage and coolness. He permitted no sentiment of particular ambition, and still less of pride, to escape him. Thus, I do not believe that he himself assumed the title of prince, which modern historians have given him. This title, which his private virtues and policy may merit, has been acquired neither by birth nor by national munificence, I even think that his modesty is not flattered by it, and that he prefers the consideration by which he is surrounded. Besides, he has not adopted this title in any of his public acts. It is wrong, therefore, in his

enemies, to exclaim against the name of prince, which, under existing circumstances, seems granted to him by the gratitude of his fellow-citizens. Let them dispute at Constantinople, and elsewhere, the title of Prince,—his glory will not be affected. It is the spite of jealousy which expires at the feet of real merit. It is one of the last resources of Turkish infatuation and madness.

I have known Mavrocordato with little ambition; but circumstances may have changed him: there is, moreover, a laudable ambition. If there really exist a rivalry between Colocotroni and Mavrocordato, and this rivalry be guided by culpable views; be there an anathema upon both. But if one of them act for the interest of the state, let the justice of the Greeks alone pursue the other.

Let us examine now what motives could engage these leaders to separate from the common cause, in order to serve their own private ambition, and the interests of such or such a cabinet.

Is it not the same cause which has conducted Colocotroni and Mavrocordato into the Morea? Are they not both there to obtain the same ends? Will the end of their glorious enterprise be now of no more consideration to him who has taken arms in his hand? Have they entertained the foolish hope, that the blood of the Hellenes will flow only to make their fortunes? These questions (apart from the last) can only be replied to in the affirmative; and then nothing very dangerous exists in the rivalry of these two leaders. They cannot mutually snatch away their glory; and every attempt, on this point, could only redound to their disgrace, if it be true that they sacrifice the general good to their hostility. A single proof would suffice to stop the course of their criminality. Seeing, therefore, no real causes for this misunderstanding, I am tempted to refuse my confidence to Journals, and even to letters, which have spread the report over Europe.

Colocotroni acts, they say, in the interests of Russia. This supposition appears to me very gratuitous. I know not who claims the invention of it; but I see little ingenuity to boast of. I should be tempted to attribute the honour to the compiler who directs the *Spectateur Oriental*, since he is the first who has said a word of it in Europe. There seems, in this accusation, something inhuman along with the deficiency of attic salt. When Ipsilanti still languishes in irons, astonished at the disavowal of

the cabinet of St. Petersburg, will Colocotroni trust Russian policy? and, alone, throughout all Greece, will he count upon an interposition officially contradicted?

For a long time, it is true, a feeling of gratitude made the Greeks think favourably of Russia. It was to the protection of this empire that the increase of the Greek marine is indebted; without which there had been no chance of success for the Hellenes. Besides, it was always from that quarter that the Greeks looked for liberating phalanxes. They expected them as the Jews expect the Messiah! These phalanxes have continued motionless on the banks of the Pruth. I do not reproach the Czar: policy has depths which it belongs not to me to sound. But I can successfully defend Colocotroni from the accusation made against him.

On the other side, has Russia any need of an auxiliary thus apparent; whose least action is controlled by the whole of Europe?

We must confess it; the supposition is more than hazardous, and I have already, perhaps, controverted it too much.

Mavrocordato is, they say, the agent of England! A supposition still gratuitous. If Sir Thomas Maitland lived, he could reply to this accusation, which has a tendency to represent the English government as endeavouring to influence the Greek revolution; and which denotes secret views and ulterior projects. The Greeks, by their valour and their constancy, have interested the English nation. A loan has been begun in their favour, whilst a noble lord * sacrifices to them his life and fortune. But assuredly General Wilson was in Spain, and the English lent money to the Cortez, without the government once infringing its neutrality. I fear much, that the enemies of Greece are deeply interested in kindling within her the torch of discord, and in sowing the seeds of hate and suspicion. This would be a masterstroke in politics; the Machiavelianism which should embroil the leaders of the Greek armies, and scatter fear and distrust over the cabinets of Europe!

Let the warriors who have valiantly conducted legions to battle lay down their arms in the hands of the legislator; and let them

* Lord Byron.

receive them from him, if new dangers menace the country. Let no one claim exclusively the work of deliverance. Without this denial, the demon of parties will inflame Greece, and replace it under Turkish thraldom.

The courageous defenders of Greece, however eminent the services they have rendered it, ought to remember incessantly, that disinterestedness honours courage; and that it is for the country to recompense their heroism.

If I am asked in what rank, in what family, the Greeks ought to chuse their king who must govern them; I answer, that I am ignorant; and that I am even ignorant, politically speaking, if they ought to chuse him amongst them *.

As a Greek, and the friend of my country, I should desire the elect of the nation possessed virtues indispensable in a monarch: —justice, magnanimity, and knowledge of men and things.

I should desire that his claims to the sovereignty be established on precedents capable of awakening no jealousy. That he should have had, above all, no part in the regeneration of Greece, in order that ambition might be levelled; and that, if it be true, that the race of the Eastern emperors be not extinguished, its last scion should be called to the throne.

These are my desires, and nothing more. I confide willingly in the wisdom of the kings of Europe, who hold in their hands the destinies of Greece. Their experience, and the wants of their policy, will tell them sufficiently what is the king, and the mode of government which it is proper to give to this interesting portion of Christianity, when it shall be entirely freed from the yoke of its oppressors.

But I will never cease saying to the Greeks,—suspect the Fanariotes. It is not amongst them that you would find a disinterested support, and still less, an equitable monarch. If you doubt this, consult the Walachians and Moldavians, who so long

* Political reasons, which I do not wish to abate, oblige me to make this avowal; but I confess, that in fact the chief of a government, and with yet stronger reason, a king, a people ought, if possible, to select among themselves. J. J. Rousseau, who sometimes was gifted with good sense, said to the Polonese, "Open the annals of your nation; you will never find it illustrious and triumphant but under a Polish king. You will see it almost always oppressed and debased under strangers."

have proved them. Ask them where are the benefits which they have gathered from their administration; and if they had a crown to offer, whether it be from the Fanar that they would chuse a head to support it?

Here I terminate my work, and leave to others the care of perfecting it. I have paid my tribute to Greece as well as I could. I have spoken bold truths, which will be disavowed by those whom they affect; and I expect their denials, but do not fear them. The impartial traveller can verify the accuracy of my statements. I do not apprehend his opposition. Content with my labours, I will say, on reperusing what I have written: if I have not made a book, I have at least done my duty.

THE END.

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